

# PEDDI SHANKAR

## Death By Encounter

A CPDR Fact Finding Report





PEDDI SHANKAR

Death By Encounter

*First published by Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights,  
Bombay 1980*

*Copyright © 1980 by Peddi Shankar*

*First edition*

*This book was professionally typeset on Reedsy.*

*Find out more at [reedsy.com](https://reedsy.com)*



Every drop of my blood  
I scatter like a seed  
to liberate my country....  
Though battered and broken  
like a wave of the Sea  
I will be born again and again



# Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	iii
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	v
 I Peddi Shankar	
 1 Chapter 1	3
2 BELLAMPALLY	6
3 NEELWAI	11
4 VEMALLAPALLI	12
5 MOINBINPETTA	13
6 CHENNUR	19
7 SIRONCHA	21
8 CHANDRAPUR	24
9 EVIDENCE: ENCOUNTER OR MURDER?	26
10 CONCLUSION	28
11 CHANDRAPUR : A SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND	31

## II ENCOUNTERS ARE MURDERS

12 The First Interim Report	39
13 ANNEXURE I	43
14 The Second Interim Report	49
15 ANNEXURE II	52
16 EXTRACTS OF EDITORIAL COMMENTS IN THE NATIONAL MEDIA	57
17 A DECADE OF “ENCOUNTER” DEATHS: A COMPILATION	61
18 THE NORTH-EAST	63
19 WEST BENGAL	67
20 ANDHRA PRADESH	83
21 BHOJPUR, BIHAR	95
22 PUNJAB	100
23 TAMIL NADU	109
<i>About the Author</i>	111

# Foreword

On November 2, 1980, Peddi Shankar, a young boy of 23 years, who was known to be a sincere fighter for social justice and was alleged to be a Naxalite, was shot dead in an alleged 'encounter' with the police at a village in Chandrapur district of Maharashtra. This was the first 'encounter' in Maharashtra and the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights, Bombay, did well in sending a fact finding body to enquire into the incident. As was to be expected, the investigators found that the alleged "encounter" was nothing short of a cold-blooded murder. The findings of the fact-finding committee are being published in this booklet.

It is necessary to realise, firstly, that such cold blooded murders would not be committed by police officers without the backing of the executive and, secondly, that these murders are a part of a more serious social malady which consists of the executive taking the law into its own hands and punishing alleged offenders without resorting to the legal process of investigation, fair trial, and sentence, if any, awarded by a judge.

Apart from 'encounters' in which alleged Naxalites are done to death, the blinding of alleged dacoits in the Bhagalpur district of Bihar is a symptom of the same social malady. In the case of the Bhagalpur blindings also, it is now clearly established that the police officers concerned in that ghastly procedure had the backing of the Bihar Government.

It is not generally recognised that short-circuiting of the judicial process is also at the root of all the laws of preventive detention in India. Preventive detention is not preventive in reality, but is punitive both in intention and effect. Preventive detention enables the executive to put alleged offenders behind the bars without the process of an enquiry and a fair judicial trial.

Such an encroachment by the executive in the judicial realm is bound to

result in grave injustice on a large scale. The only way to check this growing malady is to generate strong public resentment against it. For this purpose, it is necessary that every case of executive excess should be investigated and the facts placed before the public. The Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights deserves to be congratulated for having undertaken this essential task in the very first 'encounter which took place in Maharashtra on November 2, 1980.

New Delhi

Dated: 27-2-1981

V.M. Tarkunde

# Acknowledgement

The Fact Finding Committee acknowledges with gratitude the help extended to it by :

Mr. Varavara Rao and other civil liberties' workers from Andhra Pradesh who acted as guide and interpreter.

The Committee specially expresses its gratitude to :

The family and neighbours of Peddi Shankar and the peasants of Moinbinpetta who talked to us inspite of the risks involved.

We would also like to thank the journalists, teachers, political workers, police and govt. officials who were kind enough to speak to the Committee.





I

Peddi Shankar

*Death By Encounter*



## Chapter 1

On November 2nd 1980, the first ever ‘encounter’ occurred in Maharashtra. In Moinbinpetta village, Sironcha Taluka, Chandrapur district, two miles from the Maharashtra/Andhra Pradesh border, 23 year old Peddi Shankar was shot dead by the Maharashtra SRP. A small news item appeared in the Bombay papers three days later. The Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights, well acquainted with the Civil Rights (Tarkunde) Committee report “Encounters’ are Murders”, decided to appoint a fact-finding committee to inquire into this first ‘encounter’ in Maharashtra.

The fact-finding committee left Nagpur for Moinbinpetta on 26th December 1980. The committee consisted of Sanjay Singhvi (Blitz correspondent), Shoma Sen (lecturer), Anand Umberker (district correspondent, Mahasagar, a daily from Amravati), Shadeo Shende (President S.T. Kamgar Sangh, Amravati) and Kobad Ghandy (Secretary, C.P.D.R.). The committee first travelled to Bellampally town in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh to interview the family of the deceased. From there it visited the actual sight of the ‘encounter’ and interviewed a large number of eye-witnesses. It examined the exact spot where the death occurred and its location in relation to the police squad. The committee interviewed a wide cross-section of people, including villagers of Moinbinpetta and neighbouring villages, forest guards, teachers, journalists, political workers, social workers, hospital authorities and numerous police officials. The committee also met the DIG of Police

(Nagpur), Shri Y.A. Deshmukh. The committee returned to Nagpur on 31st December 1980, released its findings at a press conference and demanded that a judicial inquiry be instituted into the incident.

“In an ‘encounter’ last month, a 28 year old Naxalite, Peddi Shankar, was killed by an SRP squad near Sironcha. He was in the process of crossing the border with many other Naxalites.

As the SRP men tried to apprehend them, the Naxalites were reported to have opened fire with their 12 bore country-made guns. Peddi Shankar was gunned down when the SRP returned the fire. One extremist was arrested while the others made good their escape...

“The police seized a 12-bore gun, some incriminating leaflets, a first-aid and ration kit from Peddi Shankar. The leaflets in Telugu and English described the police as the enemies of their struggles.”

— The Times of India, December 10, 1980

“Photograph : The 12-bore country-made gun.

“Shankar was a political worker of the type dubbed Naxalite A popular student leader of Adilabad district in Andhra, he, after completing his education, along with his friends, started working among Adivasis in the Karimnagar/Adilabad area..... The police alleged that Shankar fired first and was accompanied by four others. The local people, however, seem disinclined to believe this version..... The death of Peddi Shankar marks the beginning of the encounter’ aera in Maharashtra.”

— Blitz, December 15, 1980

Photograph : A gruesome, distorted body, bloated eyes squinted flesh splattered belly, clothes torn open. Peddi Shankar : first victim

24th Dcember. Fact-finding team leaves Bombay/Amravat for .... Nagpur.... Bellampally.... Moinbinpetta.... Sironcha. Chandrapur.

## CHAPTER 1

*This night is endless  
The rice jars are empty  
My eyes fill with tears  
and my heart is anguished.*

*How will I look after my mother?  
I cannot stay much longer  
I hear the mountains tremble  
as the people march upon them  
and the mansions of the rich crumble.*

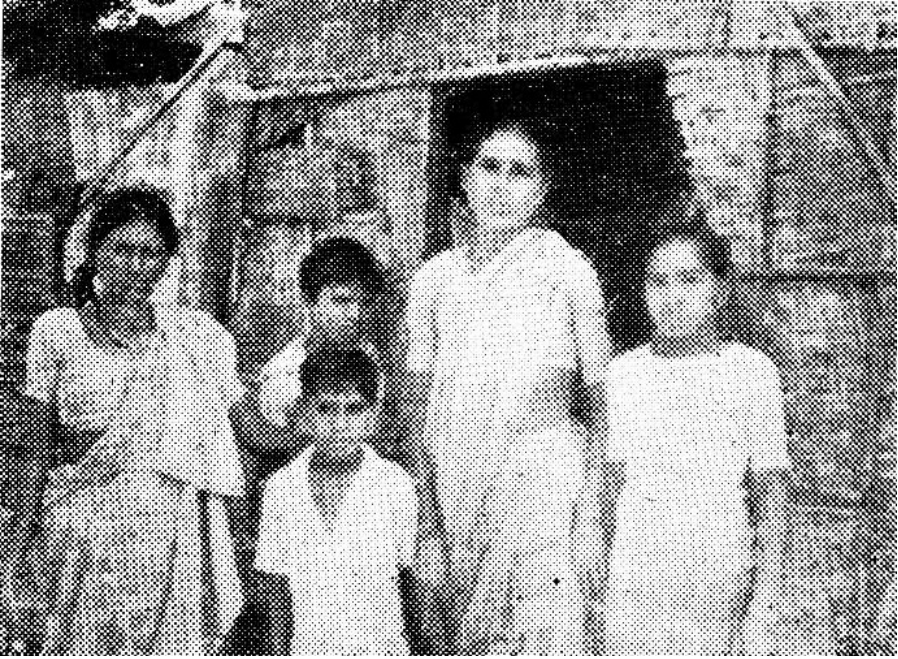
*Do not keep me, then, mother  
as I too must go  
to make the bright sun rise.*

*— Prisoners of Midnapore Jail*

## BELLAMPALLY

Peddi Shankar's mother, Lakshmi Rajaiah. Three gods in a row stare down at her. Behind glass walls of a framed-up existence, they stand on their shelf on the wall of her hut and try to taunt her. But, as Lakshmi looks back up at them, the defiance and hatred in her eyes can burn to ashes any third eye of Durga. Yes, she chants to Narayan. But not the chant of humble submission. Her chant is a challenge to those gaudy pictures to prove their valour and heroism. For her son has proved his. "I believe in God no more" she cries, "but in my son, Shankar, who fought for the country."

The mat-lined walls of the hut resound with the slowly mounting pitch of her chant. Beams of light, dusty white, slant their way between clustered neighbours and fall upon her figure, now crouching, now clutching someone's feet, arms flaying. No tears. Somehow, the tears seem to have been singed away by the fire in her heart. But the blood, flowing strong in her veins push them up, against her skin as if they would burst. Her clenched fists tremble.



*Peddi Shankar's family in front of their hut in Bellampally*

We pin down her fists, clap a hand over her mouth, comfort, console, bring water and fan air. Then, breaking into soft sobs, she smoothens her hair, clothes and begins to speak:

"It was Saturday, I had been to work on the fields." She is a wage-labourer. "I came back around four o'clock. Since I had just been operated upon, I wasn't doing much work. The youngsters were talking amongst themselves. They all looked worried; one was even crying. I kept on insistently asking them what had happened, but they wouldn't tell me. When my husband came back, I asked him if anything had happened in the town, but he said no.

"When I went back and pleaded with the youngsters, one of them said, Shankar was killed in police firing. I lost consciousness. Some pamphlets had come with the news of the killing; the talk spread.

"I was taken to Mandamari where most of my relatives live. After two or three days, a local police officer sent word for my husband. He asked, since when had Shankar not been coming home. My husband replied that for over



a year we had not seen him, and now the news had come that the police had killed him. We could not even see the body. The officer offered to take us to the spot where he died, but they did not send word for us.”

Peddi Rajaiah, Shankar’s father, enters. The black coaldust from the mines, where he works, has further blackened his already dark skin. He stands for a moment, stolidly silent. Then slowly takes off his red miner’s cap and brusquely wipes a couple of teardrops from his eyes, and speaks in a serene, deep voice. “On the 8th evening a boy came to me and told me that Shankar was killed on November 2nd.”



*Peddi Shankar's Father*

He looks down and seems to hide his sorrow in a cup of tea. For the last 30 years he has been working as a coalminer, like most others in Bellampally. Shankar was 23. His other two sons are 16 and 8, his daughter 10. He showed us the photo of his dead son taken from Blitz and explained how he had been shot in the back. Shankar was implicated in cases due to the agitation against



the Rajeshwari rape incident and he had n't been home since.

Rajeshwari, a coalmine worker's wife was raped by a coalmine officer in whose house she worked, in 1978, and, as a result died in hospital. It was Shankar who built up the massive agitation against the rape incident. In June 1979 he led a massive procession to the police station. The police fired, two persons were killed, and Peddi Shankar had charges of dacoity, arson and attempt to seize arms from the police station foisted on him. From then onwards he was forced to go underground.

"In the basti, he is known as a sincere boy, friend of all people of his age group", says a neighbour, a salesman, who knew him from childhood. "He organised the youth in the basti against theft. He raised funds to build a library in 1977. Even the walls were raised by us, the bricks brought by hand, by ourselves."

Another neighbour, Mallama, says, she too knew Peddi Shankar from childhood. "He always stood for justice and did not allow the poor to quarrel amongst themselves. He respected women and asked others to respect them."

Others present say, "After S.S.C. he worked as a bus cleaner. Later, he studied Intermediate and was an active worker of the Radical Students Union (RSU). A strike of 18 days in the coal mines against the CDS was led by him. He also led a 13 day strike for air supply in the coal mines, in 1978/79. Whether it was workers, for trade union purposes, or the people, with social or personal problems, all looked to him for solutions. Over 20,000 workers in the coalmines at Mandammani and Bellampally, looked to his guidance."

Coalmine workers, gathered at the hut, nod and exclaim in agreement. One of them tells us that "Shankar even fought to get permanent jobs for casual labourers and in all his work amongst the miners, constantly fought against the collaborationist politics of the trade union leaders. He also worked amongst the peasants and organised them to struggle for legitimate wages and for waste and government land in Dharmaraopet, Deopur, Kasipet, Laxatipeta Taluka, Somanapalli, Nagapuram and in Chennur Taluka."

News of Peddi Shankar's death, led to the immediate closure of all schools, colleges and shops in his home town at Bellampally and the neighbouring town, Mancheri. The Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee organised

a public meeting at Bellampally on the 7th of December 1980 to condemn the killing of political activists in the name of “encounters”. At first the police gave permission to organise the meeting; but as thousands of peasants began flowing into Bellampally from neighbouring villages the police clamped section 144 in the town. At 4.00 p.m. just as the meeting was to start, the police occupied the stage and announced on the microphone that the meeting was cancelled. Banners and posters were torn down, people were prevented from gathering in the streets and at night some houses were raided. We go to the police station.

The police : We don’t know. It doesn’t concern us. Ask the Maharashtra police. The incident occurred there.” The standard answers in A.P. At Bellampally, the head constable rattled this off. No higher authority is present there. Yet, as the fact-finding team is about to leave the town, a police jeep announces the declaration of section 30 (7) in the town, banning all processions and meetings till the 30th of December 1980.

# 3

## NEELWAI

At Neelwai police station, on the A.P./Maharashtra border, the head constable gives the same answer. Here too, the subinspector is away. The reason according to the head constable: "Some urgent work in Chennur." The reason, according to a lively young tailor working in the police station: "Actually there is no sub-inspector. The DSP came and suspended him for having got drunk and having threatened to shoot a jawan with his gun!"

## VEMALLAPALLI

We near the Andhra/Maharashtra border. If we just cross the river pranahita we will reach the village, Moinbinpeta, in Maha rashtra. We will see the spot where Peddi Shankar fell and died We'll meet the village poeople and know the real story. As we ask for directions we question the local people if they have heard of the incident. Most have. "Yes, one person was shot by the police while four escaped. Till a few days back over 50 police were lined up along the border", they say.

"Why the police shot him I don't know!" says one man who wished to stay anonymous and said that he had studied till the intermediate. "He was not harming the people in any way. He was organising the people against exorbitant interest payments; telling them not to pay the interest or to repay the loans; and also against illegal confiscation of land without payment. He and his people never fired or resorted to violence."

## MOINBINPETTA

It is evening as we find ourselves knee-deep, wading through the Pranahita river. Sandbanks pile on to clumps of dry grass. Ahead lies a horizon of the hilly forests of Sironcha. Somewhere on the border line of fields and forests is a hamlet of mud red huts.. perhaps Moinbinpetta!



*Pranahita river*

“O Anna, is that Moinbinpetta? Have you heard of a man being killed by the police, some days back?”

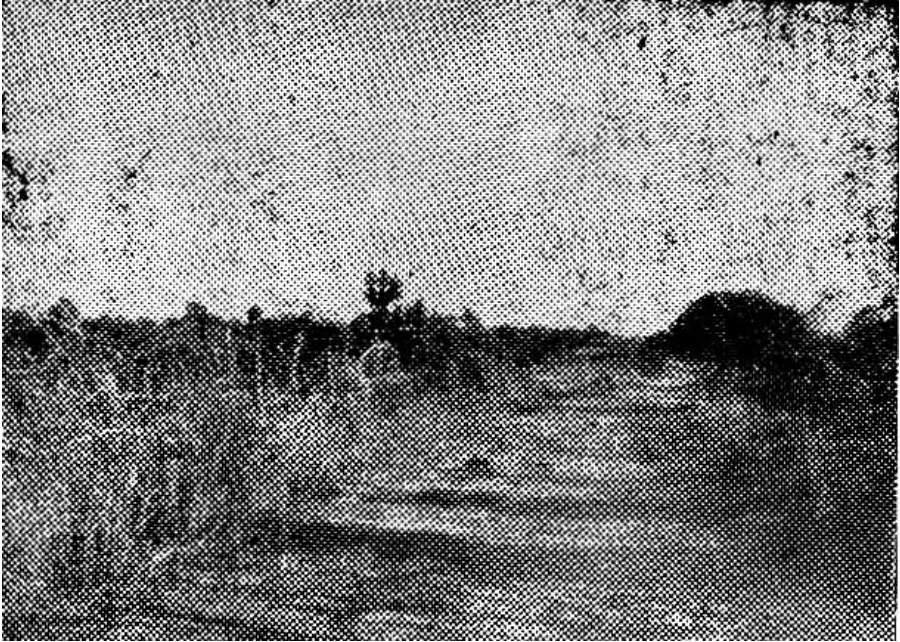
A tall, well built peasant; the man’s stature suddenly falls as he cowers, folds hands, bows, protests. ....“I am a poor man. Please leave me alone. I don’t know anything! I really don’t know anything.”

We walk through a wide expanse of jowar fields. And as we approach the hills, the large cluster of huts slowly takes form. This is Moinbinpetta. The village looks eerie, totally deserted. We walk past rows of empty huts. Finally, we spot a 16 year old boy tending his cows in a shed. Bhaurao gives us water, but is very evasive about our questions. Slowly he builds up confidence and explains: “they are scared; they all saw you and fled to the hills. There was a rumour spread that you were thieves. Oh, Peddi Shanker? I know nothing. But I can show you the spot where he died.” We are led to the jowar field, about 100 metres in front of the village, past an expanse of flat uncultivated



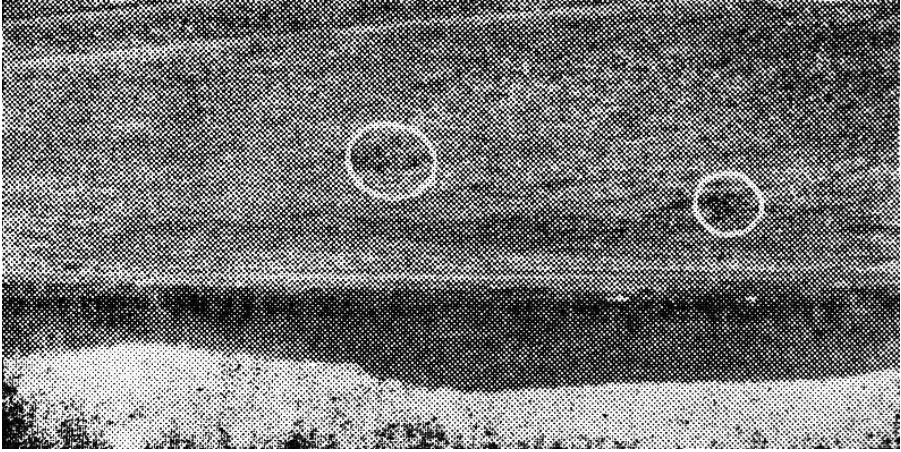
## MOINBINPETTA

land. As we approach the fields we see two small clumps of earth and stone. Bhaurao explains, “this is where Peddi Shankar fell on being hit by a bullet.” And there, 10 metres ahead in the midst of the jowar fields is a larger mound of earth and stone, built to the memory of Peddi Shankar by the peasants of Moinbinpetta on the spot where he finally died.



*Moinbinpetta*

Then seeing the boy speak to us the other villagers arrive. Slow, cautious, curious, they trickle up and begin to speak. The first to speak are two elderly Gond tribals who obviously knew Peddi Shankar well. Living in abject poverty, they are poor peasants. Peddi Shankar and his friends were good people, who spoke against the Saukar, they tell us. This cluster of roughly 700 huts comprise three villages...Moinbinpetta, Bhourah and Paidgun. In these villages there are about 15 saukars owning roughly 20 acres each. The residents are chiefly Gond tribals, Mahars and higher castes. Most are Telgu speaking while some speak a dialect of Marathi.



*Mounts (encircled) where Peddi Shankar fell on being shot. Moinbinpetta in background.*

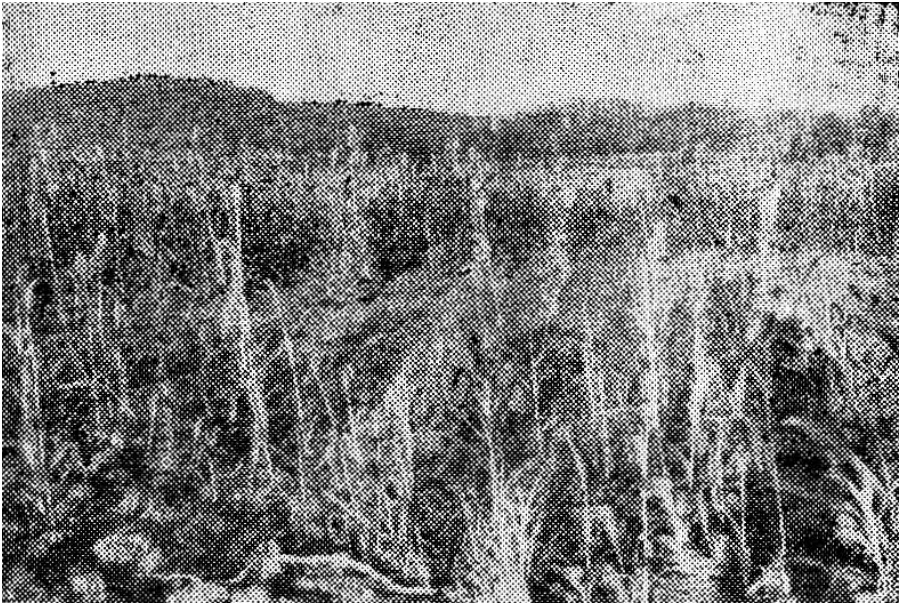
Some of the peasants own a bit of land and a cow or two. The ryots who work on the saukars' land get one kilo of jowar a day. In the monsoons, when salt is out of reach, they are forced to exchange with the Saukar, 8 kilos of jowar for one kilo of salt. Many work on the teak plantations to supplement their income. Here they are paid at daily rates varying between Rs. 3 and Rs. 5 per day.

Peddi Shankar was closest to the Gonds and Mahars. Bandigiri Tola, a Mahar, who describes the social and economic conditions of the people, now takes us to one of their homes and we gather more information. Shankar and his friends had been coming to this village only recently. They had been organising the people against the illegal confiscation of peasants' land by the saukars, and against the exorbitant extraction of money and goods by other means. It was common for the saukars to exploit the illiteracy of the peasants and massively hike up loan figures on agreements that they had signed.

On November 2nd Shankar and his friends had stopped over for food while on their way from Venkatapuram to Vemallapali. They rested at Pocheta Erriah's place in Moinbinpetta, where the villagers cooked some jowar gruel, 'umbil'. At this moment, a landlord's henchman, Pota, came to know of their whereabouts and informed the police patrol. It was about three in the



afternoon when Shankar and his friends left the village and headed towards the river along the same route as we had come by. Suddenly, the police squad appeared from behind and fired. The incident occurred in full view of the villagers. As Shankar began running across the open land, the police gunned him down. He fell. He rose, ran 10 metres, but fell dead in the jowar fields. His four other friends escaped towards the river.



*Mound constructed where Peddi Shankar finally fell.*

The villagers testified, that in broad daylight, in full view of all, with not a tree for shelter or cover, Shankar was killed by an SRP squad; shot in the back, at chest level, from a distance of roughly 50 feet. Neither he, nor the four others with him, once fired a shot. There was no “encounter”. This was how Peddi Shankar, for whom the Andhra Pradesh government had offered a reward of Rs. 3000, died. He was just 23 years old.

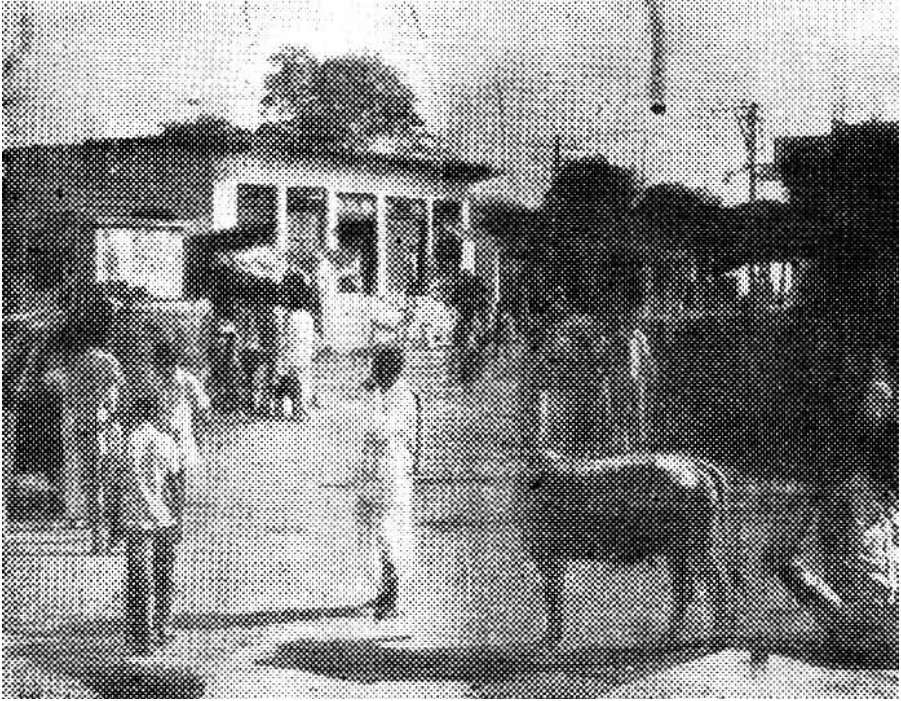
Shankar’s body was picked up by the villagers and placed in the local school, the only building of concrete in the village. The body was watched over by them for three days before the police carried it away to Sironcha. The police

had earlier taken away the belongings of Peddi Shankar and the bags dropped by his friends.

Two companies of SRP had been patrolling the area for over a month. Now a squad camped in Moinbinpetta while the other SRP combed the entire area. As expected, they harrassed the local villagers, robbing them of their produce and beating them whenever they wished. Erraiah, in whose house Shankar had eaten, was picked up and badly tortured. Later, we were told by some S.T. bus-drivers at Ahir, how the returning SRP had boasted that the man responsible for shooting Shankar, Havildar Chandrika Deep Rai, had been given a reward of Rs, 500 and had also been promoted, while the rest of the squad were given Rs. 100, each.

## CHENNUR

It is night. We cross back to Andhra through the now fast flowing Pranahita, shoulder deep in water. We must reach Chennur to-night in order to get to Sironcha, the taluka headquarters, early next morning. A few minutes after we set off, our jeep is intercepted by a police jeep, in the thick of night, and we are curtly interrogated by Circle Inspector (Mancherial) Ramalu. Varavara Rao, a renowned revolutionary poet and champion of civil liberties, who is accompanying us as guide and interpreter, is informed that there is a warrant for his arrest, regarding a case registered in May 1979. No summons had been previously given to him even though he was freely available at the college where he lectures. This news necessitates his abrupt departure.



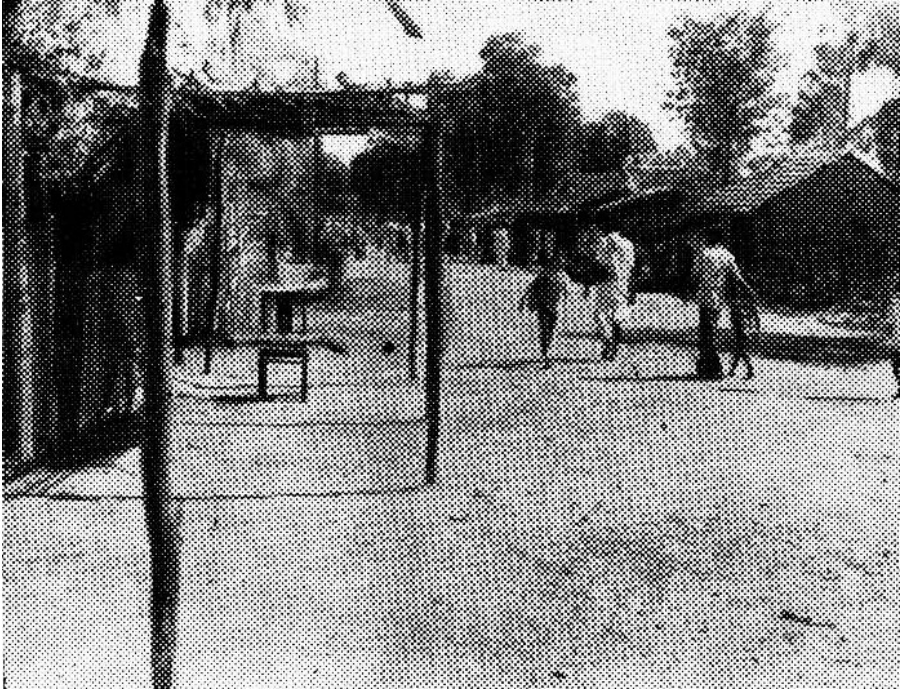
*Chennur*

We reach Chennur after midnight. Next morning we head for the ferry crossing of the Pranahita, which will take us to Sironcha.

## SIRONCHA

We reach Sironcha at noon. No sooner have we climbed up the embankment when a havildar sees us and runs off into the town. As we walk in, we are given a suspiciously warm welcome by two men who introduce themselves as the principals of the local school and college. They force themselves upon us as our guide and advisor. We are escorted for lunch to a restaurant run by the local Youth Congress (I) secretary. Plainclothesmen sit at the other empty tables while we eat. Meanwhile, within minutes, a police jeep arrives as if by accident. We are told the jeep is available to take us to the police station.





*Sironcha*

Sub-inspector Gaikwad and Circle Inspector (Gadchiroli) Thakur, are awaiting our arrival. We are offered a cup of tea and Gaikwad answers our questions. "Yes, Peddi Shankar was a communist", he says. "We found on him, apart from a country-made gun, a first-aid kit, literature of Marx and Lenin, handbills in Telugu and a magazine called 'People's War'. People are very frightened of these people. The SRP got information that five had gone to Moinbinpeta. There the Naxalites fired two rounds at the SRP. In self-defence the SRP fired two rounds and one person was killed. On the very next day the police took away the body to Sironcha, and got it cremated." When asked to show us the country-made gun, they look surprised, but are quick to explain that it is in Chandrapur. And the reason for not having informed the police station at Bellampally of Peddi Shankar's death is because they were unable to identify the body.

At the hospital, Dr. Akkewar has disappeared and Dr. Modapwar had

previously met with an accident. We find doctor Akkewar at his residence and he refuses to show the postmortem report saying it is confidential. When challenged that this cannot be, he demands permission of the police or the courts prior to disclosing the report. He says he cannot remember the date of the post-mortem and doesn't know the person's name and whose body it was.

Back at the restaurant, inspite of CID men and local Congress toughs hovering around, we interview some of the local people. According to two school teachers, P.M. Jadhav of Dharmarao High School and Sheikh Madar, the decomposed body had been lying in Sironcha for two to three days for all to see. On seeing the body, they felt that the bullet had entered from behind, since the hole in the back is small and sharp, while in the front it is splattered. They also spoke of the general fear being spread against the Naxalites who apparently frighten little children. They said that the Naxalites make inquiries about who the rich people in the village were and had spread to various villages in Sironcha, such as Ankisal, Tekadah, Sirkonda and Amravedi.

We leave Sironcha for a ten hour run, by S.T. bus, through thick forests, to Chandrapur, the district headquarters.

## CHANDRAPUR

It is 11.00 p.m. Chandrapur, a commercial centre, is still busy. We settle in a lodge, take stock of the situation and plan our future course of action. Later, in the midst of our sleep, at 2.00 a.m., we are awakened by a knock; two constables appear and a man claiming he was from the CID, have decided to “arrest” us. At the police station he changes his story. Says he is a thekedar, named Chandrashekar Mirajdar, and would like to make a complaint that we were making too much noise at the lodge.

Next morning we meet prominent journalists, social workers and political workers. No one believes the “encounter” story. A lot of the information already gathered is further corroborated by the citizens of Chandrapur. We then proceed to meet the district authorities. The SP is out, and the Home Inspector, Shri Manapure, is the seniormost authority present. At the Home Inspector’s office we are informed that the Naxalites fired four rounds. We enquire, “are you sure it was four.” “Yes,” came the reply, “we even have the empty cartridges.” We ask again to see the gun and are told that it is in Sironcha. When we tell him that we’ve been informed that it is here, he hastily adds that it has been sent to Bombay for ballistic examination.

Collector Johnny Joseph gives us an entire picture of the area. Says, the Naxalites are from Andhra and were merely seeking refuge in Maharashtra and not really working there. He says the Maharashtra police have been highly commended for this latest action, and all the Naxalites have returned to the



## CHANDRAPUR

Andhra side of the border, after this killing. However, interstate meetings of the Andhra and Maharashtra police have been taking place to take stock of the situation on the border and devise methods to control it.

## EVIDENCE: ENCOUNTER OR MURDER?

We return to Nagpur on the last day of the year, 31 st December and prepare our report for the press conference. First, eyewitness accounts clearly indicate that this was no “encounter” but a coldblooded murder in which the police fired two rounds without any provocation from the Naxalites. Second, the photo of the dead body as also the citizens of Sironcha who saw the body indicate that he was shot in the back; that is, probably while running in a direction away from the police and towards the fields where he first fell and later died. Thirdly, the fact that not even a single policeman was injured from the squad of 12, when, the Naxalites are purported to have fired two rounds, is suspect. Two rounds are fired into a squad of 12, from a distance of 50 feet on flat land, with not a tree to obstruct their view, and no one is injured? Possible, but highly unlikely. And lastly, the numerous inconsistencies in the police reports reduces the credibility of their story. Take the number of rounds purported to have been fired by the Naxalites: Sub-inspector Gaikwad, under whose jurisdiction this occurred says it is two; the senior authorities in the Home Inspector’s office insist that it is four. Then the gun supposedly got from the Naxalites! Its location appears highly mysterious. And then Gaikwad mentions that the police removed the body from the village the day after the shooting; while the villagers maintain that it had been lying there

for three days before the police removed it.

*All this, plus numerous other factors, such as a detailed examination of the spot where the incident occurred, has led us to the conclusion that this was no “encounter” or clash but cold blooded murder by the police. Peddi Shankar did not die in an “encounter” but was killed by the police.*

## CONCLUSION

Speaking to the police authorities, the district collector and local political workers it became clear that a policy to ruthlessly suppress any attempt to organise the people was being implemented by the Maharashtra police in collaboration with the Andhra police. The harassment that the fact finding-team itself faced, indicates the attempts of the police to prevent any exposure of their repressive activities. They wish to retain these powers and give free reign to the police to deal with those whom the rulers and local vested interests consider dangerous. Therefore murder by the police is rewarded by the government.

## CONCLUSION



*Peddi Shankar Killed November 2, 1980.*

Yet, everyone including a criminal, let alone a political worker, has the right to live and to be tried before a court of law. The police have no right to take a life. If the due process of law is by passed in such manner by the state authorities, what respect then, can one expect the people to have for

that law. The problem, anyhow, is not one of 'law and order', but of a socio-economic nature. It is this, the extreme poverty of the people, that is the source of all unrest. If the government, instead of solving the problems of the people, resort to such brutal repression and violence, they should then not be surprised if the oppressed sections are pushed to a situation where they are forced to strike back. Peoples' tolerance, too, has its limits.

Submitted to the President of C.P.D.R. (Bombay)

Shri Vijay Tendulkar

on 15th April 1981

Sd/

Sanjay Singhvi

Shoma Sen

Anand Umberker

Sahadeo Shende

Kobad Ghandy

1st February 1981

## CHANDRAPUR : A SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Chandrapur district lies at the eastern end of Maharashtra, bordering Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. As part of the Vidarbha region, till 1956, it was in the Central Provinces (present Madhya Pradesh). The region has been connected with political events of Central India from the earliest times, and witnessed the rise of tribal kingdoms.

### History

In the 14th century, the Yadava dynasty in the Deccan and the Kakatiya dynasty in Warangal disintegrated under the attack of Allaudin Kablji from the North. In the resulting chaotic conditions, the Gonds rose to power. They established four kingdoms at Betul, Chindwara, Mandla and Chanda and ruled till the 18th century. Chandrapur, formally known as Chanda, the district headquarters protected by a twelve mile long wall, was built by the Gond ruler, Khandkya Ballal Sah, in the 15th century. Before Chanda, Sirpur had been the capital of his kingdom, which extended to Wairagarh and also included part of present Adilabad district. The Raj Gonds ruled for over 300 years. They were not particularly expansionist and had often to accept the overlordship of larger and more powerful rulers like the Mughals and

the Bahamani kingdom, by paying an annual tribute. It was only for short spells that they managed to break free. By the 18th century they came under the suzerainty of the Marathas, and in 1751, when the ruler Nilkanth Sah stopped paying tribute, the Maratha Senapati Bhonsale completely took over the kingdom. The British gained control of the Bhonsle kingdom in 1818. In 1853, under the doctrine of lapse, since the ruler died without an heir, the British completely took over the kingdom and Chandrapur was included in the Central Provinces. Sironcha taluka, the southern most region in the district, became part of the Upper Godavari district of the Madras Province. In 1874 it was transferred to Chandrapur district.

## Natural Wealth

Geographically, Chandrapur is the largest district in Maharashtra. It has a wealth of mineral and forest resources. Coal, clay, limestone and refractory minerals like silimonite, dolomite are the chief minerals yet discovered in the area. 56.5 percent of the total area in the district is covered with forests. The forests are concentrated in Sironcha and Gadchiroli taluks, 83 per cent of Sironcha being under forest. It is in these hilly, forest talukas that a majority of the tribals, who are a sizable proportion of the district's population, live. Chandrapur district is one of the most backward districts in Maharashtra.

## Agriculture

While there is little industrialisation, an overwhelming majority of the district's population are dependent on agriculture and allied occupations for their livelihood. Table 1 shows that over 80 percent of the working population of 6.65 lakhs are working on the land or in the forests.

TABLE 1: ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS IN  
CHANDRAPUR DISTRICT



	Population (in '000s) 1971	% of total workers
<b>Agriculture:</b>		
Cultivators	299.0	45.03
Agricultural labourers	233.7	35.17
Livestock forestry hunting etc.	18.5	2.78
<b>Manufacturing, processing.</b>		
(a) household	21.8	3.38
(b) other than household	15.6	2.34
Mining	7.0	1.05
Transport	6.3	0.94
Construction	6.4	0.96
Other services	55.7	8.38
<b>Total workers</b>	<b>664</b>	
<b>Total population</b>	<b>1640</b>	

*Source : District Statistical Abstract-Socio Economic Review, Chandrapur, 1974-75.*

A majority of those who cultivate the land are involved in subsistence farming. This is evident from the fact that there is little cultivation of cash crops; foodgrains are produced in 80 percent of the total gross area under crops. In more backward regions like Sironcha, foodgrain production accounts for 89.13 percent of the cropped area. While some talukas are well-irrigated, others are not, inspite of the fact that major rivers like the Wardha, Godavari, Pranhita, Indravati, Wainganga flow through various parts of the district. Therefore, generally only one crop is cultivated in a year, the chief crops being jowar and rice.

During British rule, most agricultural cultivation took place under the Zamindari, Malguzari and raiyatwari systems in the district. Since the region saw various different rulers, Gonds, Marathas and the British in a short span of time, it had a variety of land tenures. A study conducted by Nanekar, Land Reforms in Vidharbha, showed that the land reform laws benefitted only a small section of the already recognised tenants. Concentration of land continues, and a majority of the tenants became more insecure, some

were forced to give up their lands to the landlords and become agricultural labourers. Thus the influence of earlier land tenures still persists. Many of the Zamindars during the British times were Raj Gonds who had been connected to the ruling Gond dynasty earlier.

The proportion of agricultural labourers is high (35.17% in 1971) and most eke out a living either by working in the forest plantations (in Gadhchiroli and Sironcha) or by working in other people's fields. Wages are very low. In Moinbinpeta, which the team visited, they were being paid one kilo of jowar for a day's work.

## Backwardness of the district

It is difficult for the labourers to seek work elsewhere because communications are not well-developed in the district. There is only one major railway line running through the western part of the district, the line that connects Delhi to Hyderabad. Roads are few and over 60 percent of them do not have permanent surfaces, thus becoming unusable in the monsoons. Totally dependent on agriculture, most people live in small scattered villages. In fact 67 percent of the villages in the district are inhabited by less than 500 people. In tribal dominated Sironcha taluka, 62 percent of the villages have a population of less than 200. Sironcha and Gadhchiroli are crisscrossed by four major rivers and their tributaries. During the monsoons when these rivers are in spate, whole areas are completely cut off from the rest of the region. The only setup by well known social workers Baba Amte in Bhamragarh, near the Madhya Pradesh border, remains isolated for six months in the year. The Team too found that the Pranhita which had been a gently flowing river as they waded across it to reach the village, became a dangerous fast flowing river within hours and the village was cut off from any approach till the storm passed and the water subsided. The backwardness of the region is evident in these two talukas very conspicuously. Lack of communication and transport facilities, education and medical facilities and backward agricultural production affect the tribals the most.

## The Gonds

Chandrapur is one of the three districts in Maharashtra with a large population of tribals. In 1971 they formed 14.10 percent of the district's total population of 16.4 lakhs. Most of them are Gonds. Sironcha and Gadchiroli form part of the tribal region including Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh. This region lies in the centre of the Central Indian tribal belt which extends from Thane district and South Gujarat in the west to southern part of W. Bengal in the east.

The Gonds, a proto-Australoid race, are said to have migrated to this region from further south many centuries ago. They form the largest tribe in India, but they are not a homogeneous tribe. They are divided into a number of groups, differing from each other in their culture and economic conditions. The main groups among them are the Raj Gonds, Marias, Murias, Parjas and Gadabas. Most of them have settled down to agriculture, though some among them still practice shifting cultivation. Most of them own less than 5 acres of land, and many are agricultural labourers. The primitive technology they use to cultivate, the low wages, their isolation have made their existence very precarious. They are vulnerable to and are exploited by moneylenders, traders and large landowners. During the monsoons, for example, a kilo of common salt can be bought by them in exchange for eight kilos of jowar. Indebtedness and benami land transfers (the laws enacted restrict the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals) are the inevitable results of such economic conditions.

To a large extent the Gonds depend on the forests to augment their food supply. But government regulations have made hunting and shifting cultivation very difficult for them. These regulations have given forest officials and contractors ample opportunities to harrass and exploit tribals, thus making this a major problem for the Gonds today. Even their social customs, especially the sexual freedom given to unmarried youth, have been taken advantage of by forest officials and contractors, and Gond girls sold into prostitution.

Thus, the tribals, especially the more backward ones like the Marias (who

are a majority in Sironcha) are entangled tightly in a network of exploitative economic relations which prevent them from breaking their backwardness. This backwardness exposes them to further exploitation and ties them down further. Local vested interests have much to gain from their simplicity and poverty.

## Industrialisation

In the 1970s, the Maharashtra government had planned to develop an industrial centre in Chandrapur district. The area around Chandrapur town has been designated as an MIDC zone and some large industries, manufacturing paper and ferro-manganese have come up in the area. Two large cement factories and a thermal plant are also being set up there. There are, in addition some traditional industries employing people. But the lack of an infrastructure-communications and transport mainly, hamper rapid industrialisation. The modern industries are concentrated only around the district capital, while vast areas and resources remain untapped.

## Conclusion

On the whole, Chandrapur district, like Madhya Pradesh of which it was a part, is very backward. The backwardness is not merely in terms of a lack of facilities and services, it is for the tribals a continuous subjugation to the ravages of nature and the vested interests. This exploitation and backwardness continues, in spite of all the advanced technology the country has acquired in the past 30 years. Their conditions have not changed, in fact they have worsened due to the new forest regulations. These economic and social conditions are the source of the discontent and unrest in the region, for which the onus lies on the government and political leadership in the country which have failed to do anything to better their conditions.

## II

# ENCOUNTERS ARE MURDERS

*Texts of the two interim Reports of the Civil Rights (Tarkunde)  
Committee*



## The First Interim Report

From time to time the police and governments of some states such as Andhra, West Bengal, Kerala, Bihar and Orissa have released reports to the press stating that some “Naxalites” have been killed in “encounters”.

As far as Andhra is concerned, on a rough count based on government statements and statements made by the accused in various conspiracy cases in courts, it would seem that 77 citizens are claimed to have been killed in “encounters” in Andhra during the emergency. There is widespread apprehension that the “encounters” are staged, that in fact the citizens have been liquidated in cold blood by the police to terrorise potential dissenters in the state. On learning about these apprehensions, in April 1977, Jayaprakash. Narayan, as President of the Citizens for Democracy, set up a Committee headed by Mr. V.M. Tarkunde to collect evidence about the deaths in Andhra Pradesh.

Apart from Mr. Tarkunde, other members of the Committee are: Nabakrishna Chowdhury (Angul, Orissa), M. V. Ramamurthi (Hyderabad), Kaloji Narayan Rao (Warangal), B. G. Verghese (Delhi), Balwanth Reddy (Hyderabad), K. Pratap Reddy (Hyderabad), K. G. Kannabiran (Hyderabad), Aurn Shourie (Delhi).

Thus far the Committee has been able to collect evidence about three alleged encounters in which a total of ten “Naxalites” are reported to have been killed. The Committee is convinced that two of the alleged encounters, in each of

which four citizens were killed, never took place. Enough circumstantial evidence exists to cast serious doubts about official reports regarding the third alleged encounter also, in which two citizens were killed.

In the case of two alleged encounters—one in Giraipally forest in Medak District which is reported to have taken place on the night of 24-25 July, 1976 and the other that is said to have taken place in Chilakalagutta forest near Pakala lake in November 1976—the Committee has received evidence from persons who saw those who were later reported as having died in encounters being peacefully taken from their residences by the police, from persons who later saw them in police custody, from persons who along with them were transported in police vehicles. In the Giraipally forest case, the Committee has received evidence from a witness that he was no more than 50 feet from the four who were shot and was actually an eye witness to cold blooded murder by the police officials.

In each case witnesses have testified to the brutal manner in which they were tortured. The purpose of the torture seems to have been to compel them to confess to crimes in which the police were implicating them and to have them implicate those the police had specified. In none of the cases did the state authorities hold any inquest over the dead bodies as they are required to do under Section 174 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973.

Details of the murders, as we have been able to reconstruct them from the evidence we have received, are contained in Annexure 1. Names of police officials who are reported to have been involved in torturing and murdering the detainees are also being furnished separately to the Union Home Minister. We are also furnishing the Union Home Minister with a copy of the statements that various witnesses have recorded with us.

We request the Central Government to institute a Judicial Enquiry under the Commissions of Enquiry Act (1952) into all the deaths that are reported to have taken place during “encounters” in Andhra. The Act explicitly states that the Central Government can institute an inquiry on any of the items mentioned in lists 1, 2 or 3 of Schedule 7. There can be no doubt that the matter involved is a definite matter of public importance. The State Government is so heavily involved in the crimes that any inquiry instituted



by it cannot be impartial.

On our behalf, we will turn over the evidence that we have gathered as well as the evidence that we will gather in the coming months to the Commission of Inquiry as soon as it is constituted.

Second, in order that the police officials whose names are being given to the Union Minister are not able to hamper the inquiry we request the Central Government to ensure that they are suspended till the judicial inquiry is complete.

Third, we expect that if the inquiry indeed comes to the conclusion that the citizens were killed in cold blood, that the alleged encounters never took place, the concerned officials will be tried and punished for murder.

Fourth, we expect that if the murders are proven, the principle of ministerial responsibility and the principle of collective responsibility of the cabinet will be fully borne in mind and the murders will not be quietly buried by compelling just a few junior police officers to own the blame for them. On more than one occasion the Chief Minister of Andhra, Mr. Vengal Rao, has claimed that he has “wiped out the “Naxalities.”

Fifth, as it is entirely probable that the police will try to intimidate and even harm those who have given or will come to give evidence, we request the Central Government to ensure the safety of these witnesses. We are supplying the names as well as the statements of witnesses we have examined thus far to the Union Home Minister. In particular, the eye witness to the killings in Giraipally forest. Mr. Bhikshapati and Mr. Yadav Reddy, the approver in the case, are in grave danger. At our request they have moved to the Ashram of Dr. Om Prakash Gupta, Gandhi Kasturba Seva Sangh, Amar Basera, on the outskirts of Hyderabad. We request the Central Government to ensure that they are safe from the State police.

We believe that we have collected sufficient evidence to warrant a judicial inquiry into all so-called encounters in Andhra. If the enquiry is not instituted soon we will continue our own investigation and publish the results periodically.

In either case we will continue to collect evidence about the 77 reported deaths. The evidence will be turned over to the judicial inquiry when it is

## DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

instituted or it will be directly released by us if the inquiry is not set up.

We appeal to the people of Andhra to shed their fear and come forth to place what they know about the deaths on record. We appeal to them to do so openly so that others may draw courage from their example. We believe that their giving evidence openly is also the best protection for their own selves. In each case, after a witness has recorded evidence, we will request the Central Government to provide him or her adequate protection.

May 12, 1917

## ANNEXURE I

### The Alleged Encounter in Giraipally Forest

Immediately after the proclamation of emergency the first reported “encounter” is said to have taken place in Girapally forest in Medak District. It is now known that the following persons were killed.

1. Janardhan Rao — Student of Regional Engineering College, Warangal
2. Murali Mohan Reddy
3. Sudhakar
4. Anando Rao

1. The evidence discloses that one Donthulu Antaiah was murdered on 22-6-75 at about 8-30 p.m. at Sirisingandla village of Siddipet Taluk, which the police suspected was a Naxalite action. More than 100 persons were taken into custody. Apart from the Police lock-up the Mulug (Medak District) Forest Dak Bungalow was also used for confining persons and for interrogation regarding the investigation of the crime, namely, the murder of Donthulu Antaiah.

2. The four persons mentioned above were within the age group of 15 to 25 years. The evidence discloses that on 16-7-75 Janardhana Rao was found in the lock-up at Mulug (Medak District) Police Station. On 20-7-75 the other three boys were arrested and brought to the same lock-up. All the four boys were subjected to gruesome torture in the lock-up. In the day time they were taken to the Mulug forest Dak Bungalow, where they were asked to be identified by villagers from Sirisingandla who were kept in custody there. Most of the persons who were brought there for purposes of identification appear to have been beaten thoroughly and were compelled to identify those four boys as the persons who murdered Donthulu Antaiah of Sirisingandla. These four boys were also beaten and they seem to have also confessed to the crime. Enquiries reveal that they confessed to the crime to save the villagers from further harrassment. The evidence discloses that every day these four boys were taken to the Mulug forest Dak Bungalow (Medak District) in the morning and brought back to the Police lock-up by night. When they used to be brought back these boys could hardly stand; their clothes were invariably blood-stained and they would be groaning with pain.
3. On the 24th of July, 1975 at about 8 p.m. in the night, all the lights in the lock-up were put out. The boys were shuffled into a Police van and taken to Giraipally forest. They were tied to four trees from neck to foot and were blind-folded. When the Sub-Inspector to APSP 1st Batallion was asked to shoot them, it appears that he refused. For refusing to obey orders, he was abused by the Superintendent of Police. The boys, before they were killed, raised slogans. These four boys figured as accused in S.C. 3 of 1977 on the file of the Additional Sessions Judge, Sangareddy. The boys, it is alleged, had pseudonyms. Janardhana Rao is also known as Gopal Reddy, Murali Mohan Reddy is known as Krishna, Sudhakar is known as Subba Rao and Ananda Rao is known as Malla Reddy.

In the remand report filed on 22 August, 1975 the prosecution has stated that they are absconding, whereas the death of these boys was notified to the Press on the 26th or 27th of July, 1975. They were actually killed on the

intervening night of 24th and 25th of July, 1975.

The Police seem to have used cruel methods to inflict physical pain and torture with the sole object of obtaining a confession to the crime. Witnesses speak to the facts of the torture. In almost all the cases now under consideration the police released chameleons and lizards up the legs of the victims and securely tied the bottom of the trousers. As can be expected, the frightened creatures inside the trousers started scurrying up and down the legs of the victims. Finding no way out, they started scratching and biting the victims, thighs downwards. Witnesses say that this simple and swadeshi method led to profuse bleeding.

Another familiar form of torture seems to have been to have a person lie prone, to place a log of wood across his knee joints and fold his legs to press against the log of wood, until the knee joints got dislocated. A variation of the same method of torture was to make a person lie down flat on the ground, place a log under his knee joint, another log of wood above his knee joints and make the Police constables sit on either side. These methods were used in addition to the usual methods of encircling the victim and kicking him about, beating him with lathis, bare fists, etc. In many cases, to humiliate the persons, the policemen have indulged in spitting on the persons all over the body,

## The Alleged Encounter in Chilakalagutta Forest

In this encounter the following are reported to have been killed:

1. Shri P. Rama Narsaiah
2. Janaki Ramireddy alias Jani Reddy
3. Narayana
4. Srihari

1. Shri P. Rana Narasaiah appears to have been living in Hyderabad

underground for quite some time.

2. On 23rd of June, 1976 he took on lease a portion of the premises H. N. 16-9-402. Old Malakpet. The premises were identified and photographs taken. Evidence discloses that upto the 30th of October, 1976, he was in the city and was in occupation of the premises. In the early hours of 31st October, 1976, the Police having got scent of his presence in the city and having located the hide-out surrounded the premises and took him into custody along with three others, namely, (1) Janaki Ramireddy alias Jani Reddy, (2) Shri Narayana and (3) Srihari. It appears, they were taken in a Police van to Chilakalagutta near Pakala lake. They were taken through Asokanagaram and Kothagudem Villages in Narasampet Taluk. The Police van which carried them was covered with tarpaulins to prevent the by-standers from seeing the persons inside. It appears, they were being taken to be killed. The villagers in Asokanagaram heard their slogans and warnings. In Kothagudem village, it appears that the Police sought assistance for collecting wood and arranging pyres for the cremation of the bodies. Sri M. Omkar, M.L.A., testified before the Committee that villagers are preapred to give evidence provided protection is given to them. He stated that there were about ten Police camps in Narasampet Taluk alone during the period of emergency. The mother of deceased Janaki Ramireddy, also known as Jani Reddy, testified that she came to know about the death of her son six days after he was killed and that she was performing funeral rites. Knowing this, the Police at Suryapet went to her village Isthalapuram in Suryapet taluk and interrogated her and compelled her to disclose who informed her about the death of her son. According to her, enquiries revealed that the fingers of the boys were chopped off, they were tortured and bodies were riddled with bullets.

## A Memorandum

During the period of the Emergency, at least 77 people were claimed to have been killed in similar “forest encounters” which included a former member of Andhra legislative council, Mr. Neelam Ramachandraiah. The number of

people similarly liquidated before the Emergency through stage-managed encounters are legion. Among them were 11-year-old Tamedra Chinababu of Jalantra Hills and a 12-year-old boy from Khammam, Pidugu Veeraswamy. Both the youngsters, were tortured and shot dead, according to Mr. K. V. Iyer, general secretary of the Organization for Protection of Democratic Rights.

In a memorandum to the Acting President, Mr. B. D. Jatti, the OPDR gave the names of 134 people including prominent leaders like Mr. Vempatapu Satyam, Mr. Panchadi Krishnamurthy and Mrs. Panchadi Nirmala Krishnamurthy, Dr. Chaganti Baskar Rao, a gold medallist and Mr. Subbarao Panigrahi, a noted poet and artist, who were allegedly shot dead under the guise of forest encounters or killed through torture by the police. A dozen names in the list were those of boys in their teens and one man, Mr. Pedagoganna of Khammam, was over 70.

Pleading for the appointment of a judicial commission headed by a Supreme Court judge to inquire into these “encounter” deaths of citizens, the memorandum claimed it was not correct to say that organizers of the Naxalbari or Srikakulam movements were believers in violence. If there were violent incidents, they were due to the mass upsurge against local injustice and resistance to the violence of landlords and the Government machinery that went to their rescue.

“Instead of understanding the problems of the people who were subjected to inhuman humiliation and exploitation by the landlords, the Government unleashed repression on them”, it added.

The plan to wipe out the Naxalite and Srikakulam movements in Andhra Pradesh was evolved when Mr. Vengal Rao was Home Minister in the Brahmananda Reddy Cabinet. Mr. M. V. Narayan Rao was then the Deputy Inspector-General of Police in charge of the Naxalite cell. Mr. M. Omkar, a member of the State legislature, said in an interview that Mr. Vengal Rao and Mr. Narayan Rao teamed up and “went on a killing spree of alleged Naxalites in cold blood in the name of “encounters””.

When Mr. Vengal Rao became Chief Minister, he clung to the Home portfolio and kept up the heat on dissenters. The Police too developed vested interest in engaging themselves in “encounters” with so called Naxalites, for

it meant rapid promotion. Under Mr. Vengal Rao, the number of DIGs in the State grew from seven to the present 32.

Mr. Narayan Rao was promoted as Acting Inspector-General of Police to fill the the vacancy, when the Inspector-General Mr. K. Ramachandra Reddi, went on two months leave in 1975. Following the declaration of the Emergency Mr. Vengal Rao appointed Mr. Narayan Rao as Home Secretary- the first time a Police officer had held the post of Home Secretary in Andhra Pradesh.



## The Second Interim Report

### THE KILLING IN GUNTUR

The first interim report of the Committee was released on May 16, 1977. It dealt with the murder of 10 citizens.

The committee has since collected evidence regarding nine citizens who are reported to have been killed in “encounters” in Guntur district. The evidence is summarised in the Annexure to this report.

Once again the evidence leads us to conclude that no “encounters” took place at all, that the killings were in cold blood. In brief, each of the nine citizens was murdered. A number of Policemen of varying ranks were involved in the torture, killing and subsequent disposal of the bodies.

Once again we have received direct evidence of brutal-almost unspeakable-torture.

Once again we are compelled to record that no public inquest was held as is required under Section 174 of the Indian Penal Code.

The Committee has received evidence from witnesses who saw the persons being taken into police custody, from witnesses who later saw them in police lock-ups during the period in which they were being brutally tortured, from witnesses who were told of the cold blooded killings and threatened with a

similar fate, from witnesses whose help was sought in disposing of the bodies. In the case of four Killings the Committee has received evidence from, among others, a witness who was a government functionary at the time.

The nine killings which form the subject matter of this report were a sequel to the raid on the Cherukupalli Police Station on May 21, 1975. Recently the government's functionaries have implied that the killings are justified on the ground that in such incidents evidence would in any case not be forthcoming. Yet, the Cherukupalli chargesheet itself lists 92 prosecution witnesses:

The case regarding the raid on the Cherukupalli Police Station is still pending. The evidence received by us indicates that in the meantime six of the accused who were indicted have been liquidated without trial. (Details regarding the deaths of four of these are given in the Annexure). In their case, it would seem that indictment itself has become not just the verdict, but the justification of summary disposal. Another five, who were mere suspects and had not even been indicted have also been liquidated.

The new evidence strengthens the impression that in such cases murder appears to have become the official policy of the Andhra government.

Killings of the kind we have investigated thus far cannot be the work of policemen acting on their own. Policemen often beat and sometimes torture citizens who have fallen into their custody. But they would not murder citizens unless they were certain of support from the very top.

The new evidence strengthens the case for a judicial enquiry and leads us to reiterate the principal recommendations we made earlier:

- The Central government should order a judicial inquiry into all deaths that are said to have occurred in 'encounters';
- If it turns out that the killings were in cold blood, those responsible should be tried for murder;
- The principles of ministerial responsibility and of the collective responsibility of the cabinet must be adhered to and the murders should not be buried by being attributed to a few 'over-zealous officials';
- Policemen and police officers who are said to have been involved in the killings and tortures should be suspended so that they are not able to

- influence the conduct of the inquiry;
- Adequate steps should be taken to protect the witnesses.

As in the case of the first interim report, we will hand over the text of the statements of the witnesses as well as a list of the Police officials named by them to the Central Home Minister.

Members of the Committee have met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister to acquaint them with the results and progress of the inquiry. As a result of these meetings we expect that the Central government will soon order a full inquiry into the killings in so-called encounters.

The Committee has received information that officials of the Andhra government have been destroying or tampering with records and are trying in other ways to influence the processing of the matter as well as to hamper the progress of our inquiry. These efforts will prove disingenuous. The truth about the killings cannot remain suppressed for long. We request them to desist from tampering with the records, from intimidating witnesses and from efforts to influence the processing of the matter. Officials who were themselves not involved in the killings and who now take a hand in these attempts to fabricate records etc. will end up implicating themselves.

We are encouraged by the fact that witnesses are coming forth more freely now than was the case when we were investigating the first batch of 10 deaths.

Once again we appeal to all those who have evidence about the reported deaths in “encounters” in Andhra to furnish the evidence to us. Once the facts are established unambiguously no government will be able to ignore the murders or to protect the guilty.

June, 9, 1977

## ANNEXURE II

After considerable preparatory work, members of the Committee visited Guntur, Chilakaluripet, Dachepalli, Macherla, Kavali and Chevuru during 27-31 May, 1977, to collect evidence.

On the basis of the evidence received, it appears that these nine killings in Guntur District were a sequel to the raid on the Cherukupalli Police Station.

In the early hours of the 21st May, 1975 at 2 a.m. there was a raid at Cherukupalli Police Station. Following the raid, a reign of terror was unleashed by the Police on the surrounding Harijan villages. The Harijans were beaten and hounded out like cattle, their homes were destroyed, their grain was scattered and their crops ruined. Hundreds of Harijans lost everything and fled from their villages and fields in fear, to eke out a living as coolies in other places.

Of those who had been accused of the raid six have been killed.

These are:

1. Attuluri Mallikarjuna Rao
2. Jaya Rao
3. Regulagadda Satyanandam
4. Rathnam Surya Varma
5. Kamma Sunkanna
6. Inta Krishna Reddy

Details regarding the deaths of the first four are given in this annexure as well as of the deaths of three others who were killed along with them. The annexure also gives details of the deaths of two other persons; Kotaiah and Shaikh Subhani, who were also said to have been killed in “encounters”.

Full details regarding the deaths of Kamma Sunkanna and Inta Krishna Reddy are being collected. Preliminary information suggests that they too have been killed in cold blood.

## Mallikarjuna Rao

The first arrest in this connection seems to have been that of Attuluri Mallikarjuna Rao. He was arrested on 3rd June, 1975 at 6 a.m. in the room where he was staying along with two others at Anantapur. Armed Police stood outside and asked them to come out with their hands up. They did so. Mallikarjuna Rao was then taken away separately in a van, whereas the other two were taken to the Town Police Station, II (Anantapur). Three days later the Police showed the remaining two men a news item which stated that a man 5”—7” in height and having smallpox scars was killed in an “encounter”. The Police threatened the two with the same fate. From the description of the dead man and the accompanying threat to them it was obvious to the friends that the man was A. Mallikarjuna Rao.

## B. Jaya Rao

Then one afternoon in September 1975 at about 1 p.m. two constables, Adham and Prasad of Dachepalle Police Station, were observed to alight from a Guntur-Macherla bus at the Dachepalle bus stand. They had in custody a man dressed in banian and drawers with his hands tied behind him. He started shouting that he was B. Jaya Rao and had been arrested at Tummalacheruvu in connection with the Cherukupalli incident. He was beaten by the constables and driven towards the Dachepalle Police Station while he kept shouting Maoist slogans and announcing his identity. Many

people at the bus stop witnessed this. The local Civil liberties Committee sent out telegraphic appeals about his arrest to the S.P. Collector, Tahsildar of Guntur and Tahsildar of Gurajala who was camping at Dachepalle Travellers' Bungalow. The Telegraph Office is a few yards away from the Travellers' Bungalow in Dechepalle. As there was no messenger, the members of the Civil Liberties Committee themselves personally delivered the telegrams. Later, fearing Police harrassment, they destroyed the receipts evidencing the issue of the telegrams.

After three days there was a news item that B. Jaya Rao and another person were killed in an "encounter" at Kotappakonda, 30 Kms. from Guntur.

## Kotaiah

On 6th September, 1975 one Kotaiah was arrested in front of a pan shop at park Centre, Macherla. Evidence discloses that two constables from Srisailam had been to the same panshop earlier. One of them was called Subrahmanyam. Shortly after they left, Kotaiah came to the bunk for a cigarette. Subrahmanyam came back and caught him. In the ensuing scuffle Kotaiah drew a knife and stabbed Subrahmanyam. A crowd had already collected, and as the constable had said that he was a rowdy, a man from the crowd caught him. He struggled, shouting that he was not a rowdy, but a communist. But the crowd did not believe him. His hands were tied behind with a towel and two more constables who had arrived by then marched him off to the Police Station. Subrahmanyam, the injured constable, was treated in the Government Hospital, Dachepalle. A few days later it was reported in the newspapers that Kotaiah was killed in an "encounter". The owner of the panshop was later shown a photograph of Kotaiah's body and asked to sign a paper, which he did. The evidence suggests that Kotaiah was the other man killed in an "encounter" along with B. Jaya Rao in September 1975. As we have noted, B. Jaya Rao had been arrested in the room where he was staying and Kotaiah had been arrested at a panshop while buying a cigarette. half years

## Regulagadda Satyanandam

On 13th January, 1976 Regulagadda Satyanandam, about 50 years of age, and his wife were arrested at Koparti. They had a child, one and old. The husband and wife were walked to Thimmapuram. The wife went weeping all the way. From Thimmapuram they were transported in a police van to Bapatla Town Police station II. Her brother and mother-in-law were also in the van. Their legs were badly swollen and they were evidently in great pain. At the Bapatla Police Station Satyanandam and his wife were beaten brutally in front of each other for two days. At one point, a police officer snatched the child from the mother's arms, threw it on the ground and trampled on it. On the third day Satyanandam's legs were swollen so badly that he could not be beaten any more. His wife was asked to heat water and foment his legs. Then on 15th January, 1976 she was asked to fetch fresh clothes for her husband from their home as his clothes were drenched with blood. She returned on the 17th January, 1976 with fresh clothes. She was told that her husband would collect the clothes himself later and was promptly sent away. Evidence discloses that Satyanandam had been taken away immediately after his wife's departure. The police had used the pretext of getting clothes for him in order to remove her from the scene. Apparently, he was shot in a staged "encounter", perhaps as an act of mercy after all the torture. His wife was arrested again on 19th January, 1976, tortured for 40 days in the lock-up and kept without enough food or water.

As a result of the tortures, she could hardly walk. She almost went mad in the lock-up. Later she was transported to Ponnur Police Station and was confined there for five months.

Other witnesses in the lock-up who had seen Satyanandam being taken away were told that he had been shot and were threatened with the same fate as Satyanandam and Shaikh Subhani of Chilakaluripet if they did not disclose information. Evidence indicates that these two men were shot soon after 15th January, 1976. when Satyanandam was last seen alive by his wife and fellow prisoners.

## Shaikh Subhani

Shaikh Subhani, a carpenter, aged 20, was living at Chilakaluripet. At 10 p.m. on the 9th January, 1976, constable Mallaiah of Chilakalurpet Police Station came to his house and shouted out that Subhani was wanted by the officer at the Police Station. Hearing this, people in the neighbourhood promptly came out to the street. Shaikh Subhani was taken to the Police Station accompanied by his brother, cousins and neighbour. He was handed over to S. I. Ranga Prasad at the Police Station. His relatives waited for a longtime outside the Police Station, but finally left when he was not released. The next morning his cousin took some food to the Police Station. At 10 a.m. some neighbours saw Shaikh Subhani being taken to the bus stand by two constables. He sent word home that he was being taken to Guntur and efforts should be made to have him released. This was the last time he was seen alive. His brother, along with a local congress man, made efforts to see the S.P. at Guntur, but did not succeed. About a week later he went to see C.I. Hanumatha Rao Naidu, who was camping at the 'Travellers' Bungalow. The brother was accompanied by the local congressman and a few others. The C. I. called the congressman and spoke to him alone. Later the congressman came out and told one of the witnesses who had accompanied him and who later testified before us, that Shaikh Subhani had been shot dead. This witness could not bear to break this news to the family and merely told them that Subhani's whereabouts were not known and that if he could be traced, the Police themselves would bring him back. He did this to spare the feelings of the brother and the ailing mother. The family, not knowing Subhani's fate, made no further attempts to trace his whereabouts through sheer fear, during emergency. The petition presented to the Chief Minister after the revocation of emergency had no effect.



## EXTRACTS OF EDITORIAL COMMENTS IN THE NATIONAL MEDIA

### Barbarous Sadism

*The Tarkunde Committee, which at the behest of Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, inquired into the killing of 77 Naxalites in Andhra Pradesh during the emergency, has not disclosed all the evidence it has collected. But what little has been made known must have shocked anyone with the least sensitivity to human decency. The Committee, which consisted mostly of non-political champions of civil liberties, has come to the conclusion that the stories of the so called encounters between the police and the Naxalites were fictitious, fabricated to hide the brutal murder of suspects after subjecting them to the most heinous torture..... The Home Ministry should immediately take vigorous steps to make the police personnel realise that one life is as good as another and that in the name of law and order they cannot murder citizens in cold blood.*

*The Hindustan Times, May 19th, 1977.*

## In Cold Blood

*The Tarkunde Committee in its interim report confirmed what has long been suspected: that, during the Emergency in Andhra Pradesh, many people, allegedly Naxalites, who were supposed to have been killed in "encounters" with the police, were in fact murdered in cold blood..... In the circumstances the committee's plea for a proper judicial inquiry into all the deaths that are reported or claimed to have occurred in this fashion is more than justified and the Union home minister, Mr. Charan Singh, should institute one right away. But such an inquiry should not be concerned with establishing the truth only in Andhra Pradesh and only during the emergency. Periodic reports of the killing of "Naxalites" in "encounters", have in the past been issued by the government of states where the Naxalite movement was felt to have taken root.....*

*The Times of India (Bombay), May 23, 1977.*

## Organised Torture

*The bald admission in the court recently that the young engineering student of Calicut, Rajan, died in police custody "as a result of continuous police torture with iron and wooden rollers", has opened our eyes to an ugly reality that we have long tried to ignore. This is also true of the interim report of the Tarkunde Committee which suspects that at least 77 alleged Naxalites have been murdered in cold blood by the police in Andhra. That torture, euphemistically termed "third degree", is commonly employed by our police to extract confessions from criminals, has been known. Under British rule revolutionaries had been similarly tortured as part of routine brutality and to inflict indignity on these noble young souls. It had been believed for long that such practice in relation to political*

*elements had ended with independence and with righteous indignation we had happily joined the chorus of condemnation of such atrocities in other countries. The first few reports, in the early seventies, of torture of Naxalites had been dismissed as being exaggerated and politically motivated propaganda.*

*Yet the facts now available are, to say the least, shocking. Between 1970 and 1975 in 22 jail clashes 200 people have been killed. Police torture has been responsible for at least 100 cases of death or permanent injury in Andhra and West Bengal alone, and all in six months. The case of Lawrence Fernandes is well known by now, and more such stories are being revealed every day. Attention has now been drawn to the magnitude of police torture and other forms of administrative violence because of its impact on every strata of society during the traumatic months of the emergency. Torture had become an expression of the sense of unlimited power sanctioned by unconstitutional authorities backed by Government. Bestiality and inhumanity had become a way of life, something we had sincerely believed could never happen in our country. But even today the collective conscience against such brutality does not seem to have been adequately roused.*

*In our hierarchical society victims of such violence can be identified by their socio-economic status. Every other day we hear of harijans and other deprived classes being beaten, tortured and even brutally killed. In most cases the oppressor manages to get the benefit of the doubt. The oppressed, however, is always considered guilty, unless proved otherwise..... The experience of the Emergency has proved that the state is a form of organised violence and populist movements of a coercive character can also be directed towards disorganised violence. In the circumstances, apart from inquiries into individual cases of police and administrative violence, a comprehensive investigation is required to reorganise the entire system.....*

*Economic Times (Bombay) May 31, 1977*

## Murder as Policy

*The Tarkunde Committee's further revelations-blaming the Andhra Pradesh Police for murdering nine Naxalites in addition to the ten who were falsely said to have been "killed in encounters"-merely confirms what was already suspected about the brutality of official methods. Attention was drawn to this aspect of Indian policy by Amnesty International which presented its findings and recommendations to the Centre in May, 1974. Then, "because of complete lack of response of the Government to this and to several other proposals", Amnesty International made public a report which discussed "grossly overcrowded prison conditions" in West Bengal where between 15,000 and 20,000 Naxalites were allegedly detained. The figures, as well as charges of maltreatment and torture, were predictably denied by New Delhi. But the outraged tone of the official statement hardly rang true in the context of what was already known about insanitary and congested prison conditions, the system of administration whereby hardened criminals who are entrusted with the distribution of food, bedding and other amenities are encouraged to bully and corrupt undertrial prisoners, the long spells of detention without charges being preferred, and the cynical methods, through which jail risings were often deliberately fomented to justify liquidation. The system had, over the years, become rotten through and through; and Mr. V. M. Tarkunde's horrifying findings will, it is hoped, prompt the Union Home Ministry to investigate a situation in which murder is used as an instrument of policy.....*

*Sunday Statesman (Delhi), June 19, 1977*

## A DECADE OF “ENCOUNTER” DEATHS: A COMPILATION

*No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishments*

— *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 5)*

*No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.*

— *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 9)*

*India is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet the Government of India has perpetrated on its people inhuman tortures and have even arbitrarily deprived thousands of young men of the right to life. “Once again the evidence leads us to conclude that no “encounter” took place at all; that the killings were in cold blood”.*

— *Civil Rights (Tarkunde) Committee Report*

*"In Andhra Pradesh, the allegations are that between 300 and 500 Indians were killed by police during the years 1968 to 1977, following arrest, in staged 'Encounters'."*

*— Amnesty International Report, submitted to the Government of India  
on Sept. 21, 1978*

In this section we have tried to give state-wise details about the liquidation of political opponents by the government of India in so called encounters. This list is by no means complete. The facts are based on available sources. There are, no doubt, numerous instances where such killings have gone unrecorded, or unnoticed in some obscure corner of the press. Yet, our intention is to document the facts available to us and produce as composite a record as possible based on information available. We would welcome further details to make this record more complete.

We have also attempted to give a very brief background to the movement where some 'encounters' happened so that the reader may get a clearer picture of the conditions under which they occurred. The three states in which shockingly large number of encounter' deaths have taken place are West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Punjab. These have been recorded at length. In W. Bengal the list provided is incomplete as hundreds more unknown people were killed in the 1969-1972 period. We have not been able to gather any further details. For the North-East there is no list. For there, killing by the army is not an 'encounter', it is a right they have acquired from the Government of India.

## THE NORTH-EAST

Today the entire North-East is virtually an occupied territory. First Nagaland, then Mizoram and recently Manipur have become armed camps with the Indian troops behaving like an army of occupation. The Armed Forces Special Powers Act, is in operation in all the five States and two Union territories of the northeastern region. This act gives power to any petty officer to shoot and kill at sight. “Encounters” have been legalised. The government in this part of the country needs no excuse to kill; they have a right under the law.

### Nagaland

There are an estimated one lac fifty thousand army personnel deployed in Nagaland. The Naga Peoples’ Movement for Human Rights has said that virtually every hill-top has become a vantage point for the Indian Army and every village lives in the shadow of imminent military terror. The Minority Rights Group in a pamphlet entitled ‘India and the Nagas’, alleges that from 1956 to the present day the policy of pacification by the Indian army using force has been applied with varying intensity. Villages have been burned and crops and granaries destroyed—whether as punishment for harbouring resistance fighters or to extract information, reports indicate a developing pattern of public beating, torture and humiliation of village elders...

In a press conference, called by the PUCL and held in Delhi in October, 1979

Mr. Luingam Luithai, spokesman for the Naga Peoples' Movement for Human Rights, stated that it is not only through military means the the Government of India is fighting the insurgency in Nagaland. The methods adopted by the Government of India in Nagaland closely resemble those used by the Americans in Indo-China. Blatantly barbarous methods, like regrouping of villages and creating strategic hamlets have all been tried; there is even a programme of Winning the Hearts and Minds of the People; programme designed to canalise the energy of Naga youth along 'constructive channels. The army, he said, is making inroads into Naga social life—it has vast funds for disbursement, it distributes pencils amongst children, and an unlimited quantity of rum amongst men. It runs clubs, schools and other institutions.

The history of the Government of India army occupation of Naga area is rife with countless incidents of arson, rape, torture and mass execution. Almost every Naga family has lost some member, has had some member tortured, maimed or crippled.

## Mizoram

Today, there are stationed in Mizoram one Mountain Division of the army, one BSF brigade and 8 CRPF battallions. Even since 1967, with the escalation of activity of the Mizo National Front (MNF), the area has been saturated with Indian troops.

As in Vietnam, here too the Government ruthlessly razed villages to the ground and re-grouped them. Small scattered hamlets, of twenty to thirty families each, were brought together to form one resettled village with a population of a thousand or more. Villages were surrounded by the army and quick notice to remove beddings was issued. Villages with all their grain stocks were then razed to the ground. Six-foot barricades of bamboo and thorn were built around the 'new villages' to prevent access to them. A total of 23,000 families and a population of 1,50,000 have been involved in this regrouping; over 535 villages have been herded into 110 re-grouped centres.

Identity cards have come to determine an individual Mizo's being. It has become his passport to food and labour; to entry and exit from his village. If



a Mizo is permitted to breathe, it is by virtue of his possessing and producing an identity card. It has been difficult to keep track of the number of people shot and killed because identity cards were supposedly not produced.

## Manipur

Today, it is in Manipur that the strongest resistance groups are emerging, which are seeking to unite all the resistance forces in the North East. To crush this new found awakening the Government of India had deployed 15,000 troops in this State. It has now been proposed to raise the army strength to 50,000—i.e. one soldier for every 30 Manipuri citizens. Besides the army, there are also the CRPF, Rajesthan Armed police, four battalions of Manipuri Rifles, the Assam Rifles operating on the hills and the BSF on the international borders.

Its capital city, Imphal, gives the visitor the impression of a city under army occupation. All government offices, banks and important buildings are under heavy guard. So are the houses of ministers. Troops, most often in trucks and sometimes on foot, patrol the city day and night with guns at the ready.

The Human Rights Forum (Manipur) has given a short list of some killed by the armed forces in the few months between April and October 1980:

## DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

<b>Deaths</b>				
<i>Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Shot by</i>
17-4-80	Mr. P. Lukhoi	17	Lilashing Khongnang-khong High School	CRP
18-4-80	M. R. Loken	16	Nambol High School	Manipur Rfls
26-4-80	Mrs C.H. Binodini (was also pregnant)	30	Patsoi Village Part I	CRP
„	Mr. L. Angou	45	„ „ „	„
„	Mr. N. Inderjit	20	„ „ „	„
„	Mr Leikham	20	„ „ „	„
27-4-80	Mrs M. Thambal Sana	50	Imphal Bazar	„
11-7-80	Mr. S. Basanta kumar	24	Uripok Road Imphal	Manipur Police
10-8-80	Mr. Y. Domodar	16	Pheidinga	Army (61-Mountain Brigade)
10-8-80	Mr. W. Rajendra	16	Pheidinga	Army
17-10-80	Miss N. Tombi (kicked to death)	5	Leimaram village	Army, Mahar Regiment

## Conclusion

Massive repression and army operations have also moved to Assam in a bid to crush the national sentiments of the Assamese people. In Tripura too, the para-military forces are active in crushing the resistance groups and people who are struggling for an identity of their own. With such massive army and para-military operations in the north-east one wonders whether these forces are created for defending the country, as is claimed, or whether it is for crushing the people of its own country. The Government of India waxes eloquent about civil rights in South Africa and Kampuchea but what it is doing to the north-east of its own country is very similar to what America did in Indo-China or what Hitler did during the second world war. The only difference is that news about the north-east is completely blacked out by the Government. But, for how long can the truth be hidden? What has been presented here is but a fraction of the reality.

## WEST BENGAL

The “encounter” era began in this country as part of a systematic policy of the government to crush the incipient Naxalite movement. It is then no wonder that West Bengal, the birthplace of the movement, faced the maximum wrath of the government. The uprising in Naxalbari soon spread to other districts of West Bengal and specifically inspired the students of Calcutta, who came forward in a very big way. The government let loose its repression in the years 1970 and 1971 in a way unheard of even in British times. Terrifying tortures in Lal Bazar lock-up were as inhuman in intensity as that of the Shah of Iran. Hundreds of students were shot dead on the streets of Calcutta in broad daylight. Entire areas were rampaged and young boys butchered and maimed.

To give a picture of what happened then we shall give some instances of mass murders that occurred in this 1970/71 period. They were conducted either directly by the police or by hired hoodlums of the government or jointly.

### Sept. 25 1970; Murder in Bhabani Dutta Lane

Three young men were arrested in the compound of the Medical College hospital and taken to Bhabani Dutta Lane in the College Street area at midnight in a police van. They were asked to leave. As they got down from

the van and walked towards their houses the police opened fire from behind. They died on the spot. The police reported that they had been killed in an “encounter” in which a police party had been attacked with bombs by eight Naxalites pasting posters.

## Nov. 20, 1970; Barasat Mass Murders

Eleven young men were surrounded by a police party at the foot of Shahid Minar in Calcutta Maidan on Nov. 19 at 4.00 p.m. They were then loaded into two waiting cars at gun-point. At mid-night they were taken from Lal Bazar lock-up to Ariadana Hospital where they were badly tortured. They were then taken to a place in Barasat and shot dead. The bodies were later strewn over several miles along a highway. A committee headed by Justice Tarapada Mukherjee was appointed to inquire into the incident. A few days later he was stabbed and so refused to carry on with the enquiry. The people of the area had responded with a two day bandh against the incident.

## Jan, 26, 1971; Mass Murder At Diamond Harbour

Six bodies were found on the river bank of the Ganges in front of the tourist lodge at Diamond Harbour in south 24-Parganas. The modus operandi of the killing resembled the Barasat killings. The police version that these were dacoits completely lacked credibility.

## Feb. 15, 1971; Mass Murders in Beliaghata

Five young men were rounded up by the police in a raid. All of them were lined up against a wall in Radha-madhab Dutta Lane and shot dead.

## June 1, 1971; Mass Murders in Konnagar

On June 1, 1971, the police dug up nine bodies from a field in Konnagar. It was revealed after investigation that the bodies were buried after an organised mass murder of political opponents by the Congress party. Many of the murdered boys were in the list of Naxalites in the police note book. The bodies were found within 48 hours, with the heads cut off and with acid and salt sprinkled in the grave.

## August 12/13, 1971; Mass Murder at Kassipore-Baranagar

The massacre that took place in the area under Kassipore police station, in North Calcutta, on August 12 and 13, 1971, surpassed all previous records in the history of political violence in West Bengal. Nearly 150 boys were butchered within two days. It was not just stray killing that took place in Baranagar. On the day preceding the mass murder, a Congress worker, who ran a club of local roughs, had been killed. The anti-socials became panicky; they got the green signal from the high-ups in the government. The police were officially withdrawn and given strict instructions not to interfere. Practitioners in murder were brought in; arms were supplied; the operation started. People were literally slaughtered in broad daylight on high roads and important crossings. The dead bodies were scattered all over the place; eyes uprooted, heads cut off; limbs severed and abdomens opened apart. The bodies were lying on the streets, in broad daylight. All killed were Naxalites. In case some names were omitted, the full list of the dead was hung on a dias, built on the spot. That dias was erected in front of Baranagar Police station. New names were being added every hour. Later, the bodies were taken in carts and thrown into the Hooghly river. The government responsible for this at the centre is the same that is in power today.

## Sept. 12, 1971; Mass Murder at Howrah

The mass killings in Howrah surpassed the horror that took place in Baranagar. But, on this occasion uniformed police openly joined the "Pratirodh Bahini" to kill at random.

And so the saga of torture, murder, continued till 1972 when all resistance was crushed. If the methods to be used were those of Hitler, the then Cong. government under the existing democratic structure, unleashed a fascist terror not even witnessed in British times. The following lists, released by the Bandimukti-o-Ganadabi Prastuti Committee, gives some details of those killed inside and outside jails during this period.

TABLE 1: LIST OF PRISONERS KILLED INSIDE JAILS (INCOMPLETE)

---

*Midnapore Central Jail:*

1 Nakul Singh	16-12-70
2 Kishori Mahapatra	do
3 Nalini Mahapatra	do
4 Suresh Khamrai	do
5 B Soren	od
6 Ramesh Khamrai	do
7 Kali Sasmal	do
8 N Dey	do
9 Unknown	do
10 Unknown	do
11 Unknown	4-2-71
12 Unknown	do

---

**Berhampore Central Jail**

13 Biplab Bhattacharya	24-2-71
14 Mridul Sarkar	do
15 Asith Bhattacharya	do
16 Gora Dasgupta	do
17 Nazrul Islam	do
18 Kanailal Banga	do
19 Timirbaran Sinha	do
20 Prabhat Banerjee	do
21 Unknown	20-2-72

**Dum Dum Central Jail**

22 Babul Pal	14-5-71
23 Sujit Majumdar	do
24 Hemanta Pal	do
24 Partha Ghosh	do
26 Parthasarathi Ghosh	do
27 Sudip Bhattacharya	do
28 Kajal Sensharma	do
29 Krishna Biswas	do
30 Suprakash Banerjee	do
31 Datta	do
32 Nilu	do
33 Tapan Bhattacharya	do
34 Gopinath Chakravarty	do
35 Pranab Roy	do
36 Pulak Adhikari	do
37 Unknown	do

**Alipore Special Jail**

38 Manoranjan Dey	11-7-71
39 Swapan Mahalanobis	do
40 Shankar Chatterjee	do
41 Mihir Sarkar	do
42 Paritosh Banerjee	do
43 Unknown	do
44 Mrinal Bhattacharya	10-7-71

**Asansol Special Jail**

45 Anandadulal Chakravarty	4-8-71
46 Dilip Majumdar	do
47 Tapan Ghosh	do
48 Sambhunath Lohar	do
49 Ratan Basu	do
50 Phalguni Pramanik	do
51 Unknown	do
52 Unknown	do
53 Unknown	do

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

54 Soumitra Mukherjee	19-4-73
55 Sunil Basu	do
56 Bijoy Muchi	do
<i>Alipore Central Jail</i>	
57 Nimai Das	26-11-71
58 Gour Das	do
59 Rajkumar Baidya	do
60 Sohodar Baidya	do
61 Sagar Chatterjee	do
62 Nirzuddin Gharami	do
63 Swapan	do
64 Unknown	do
65 Sanjay Basu Ray	1-10-73
<i>Hooghly District Jail</i>	
66 Drenacharya Ghosh	7-2-72
<i>Burdwan District Jail</i>	
67 Asitbaran Chatterjee	28-5-72
68 Tushar Chandra	do
<i>Krishnagar District Jail</i>	
69 Unknown	6-5-74
<i>Howrah District Jail</i>	
70 Pratip Ghosh	3-5-75
71 Tarun Das	do
72 Bhramar	do
73 Madan Das	do
74 Prabir Roychoudhury	do
<i>Presidency Jail</i>	
75 Swadesh Biswas	24-2-76
76 Kalipada	do

TABLE 2: PARTIAL LIST OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS KILLED BY POLICE & PARAMILITARY FORCES IN WEST BENGAL (INCOMPLETE)



WEST BENGAL

Name and Age	Occupation/Residence	Date	How Killed
1 Kanai Bhattacharya (35)	Worker, Texmaco factory in Belghoria	18-11-70	Barasat mass murder
2 Jatin Das (36)	-do-	do	do
3 Tarun Das (14)	Student, Kalachand High School Ariadaha	do	do
4 Sami Mitra (18)	2nd Yr. B.Sc.	do	do
5 Ganesh Ghatak (19)	B.Sc. Uttarpara Peary-mohan College.	do	do
6 Shankar Chatterjee (21)	M.Sc. Zoology, Calcutta University	do	do
7 Swapan Pal	—	do	do
8 Samarendra Datta	—	do	do
9 Samir Saha	Student	3-10-70	Shot dead by police in Shy-ampukur police station
10 Bhombal	—	10-10-70	Shot dead in broad day-light by police in Kumartuli
11 Bulley	—	do	do
12 Methu	—	do	do
13 Tushar Ghosh	—	19-11-70	Shot dead after arrest in Ahritola
14 Haradhan Das		31-3-71	do
15 Kucho Sardar (25)	Peasant, Baruipur	26-1-71	Diamond Harbour mass murder
16 Mansur Molla (26)	Peasant, Mallikpur	do	do
17 Abed Ali (26)	Peasant, Mallikpur	do	do
18 Taimur (24)	Peasant, Jaynagar	do	do
19 Nasim Sardar (26)	Peasant, Mallikpur	do	do
20 Surat Ali Mondal (27)	Peasant, Mallikpur	do	do
21 Pradip Niyogi (18)	Howrah	1-6-71	Konnaga mass murder
22 Biswajit Chatterjee (22)	Howrah	do	do
23 Pankaj Sil (30)	Panchanatala, Howrah	do	do
24 Asitkumar Das (22)	Salkia	do	do
25 Bishu Banerjee	Golabari	do	do
26 Tarun Basu	VIP Road, Calcutta	do	do

DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

27	Mrinal Ghosh (22)	Panchanantala, Howrah	1-6-71	Konnagar mass murder
28	Sukumar Roy	Howrah	do	do
29	Biman Baral (22)	North Bantra, Howrah	do	do
30	Bhabani Biswas	Baranagar	12/13-8-71	Baranagar- Cossipore mass murder
31	Maley (14)	Cossipore	do	do
32	Samirkumar Baral (18)	Baranagar	do	do
33	Tapan Samanta (22)	Baranagar	do	do
34	Kajal Banerjee (20)	Taltala	11-8-70	Shot dead by police.
35	Samir Bhattacharya (18)	Student	17-8-70	Died after tor- ture in police- custody, Sh- yampukur police station
36	Buro Haldar	—	15-9-70	Died after torture in Krishnagar police station
37	Shanku	Student	25-9-70	Shot by police Bhabani Datta Lane, after arrest in Calcutta Medical Col- lege.
38	Anup Bose	Student, Bengal En- gineering College	do	do
39	Krishna	Student	do	do
40	Ajay Sanyal	Student	do	Killed in Me- dical College
41	Birendra Debnath (22)	—	28-10-70	Shot dead by police in Dur- ga Puja Pan- dal on Mas- jidbari Street
42	Ashok Bose	—	20-11-70	Shot dead by police in CIT Bldgs.
43	Gobinda Datta	—	do	do
44	Parish Mitra	CIT Building, Beliaghata	20-11-70	Shot dead by police in Be- liaghata.
45	Palta	do	15-2-71	do

WEST BENGAL

46 Asish	do	do	do
47 Manab	do	do	do
48 Sadhan	do	do	do
49 Madhusudan	do	do	do
50 Biplab Bhattacharya	Beliaghata	25-6-71	Shot dead by police in Bali-char, 24-Par-ganas
51 Ranjit	—	July 1971	Shot dead by police near Dhakuria bridge after arrest in Tolly-gunge
52 (Miss) Sipra Saha	—	6-11-71	Shot dead by police in Mianbagan slum in Be-liaghata.
53 Saroj Datta	Journalist and CPI (ML) Leader	4-8-71	Allegedly shot dead by police after arrest.
54 Nani	—	5-11-71	Shot dead by police in Kasba
55 Ajit Datta	—	3-11-71	Shot dead by police in Bibeknagar, in Kasba
56 Tulsi Chakrabarty	—	3-11-71	do-
57 Pranab Bhowmik (18)	—	29-10-71	Shot dead by police after arrest in Shahidnagar, Kasba. Body returned to family by police.
58 Tapan Khastagir (12)	—	29-10-71	do-
59 Saral Bhattacharya (21)	—	1-11-71	Shot dead by police in Hatnagar village, after arrest in Udaypur, South Magrahat

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

61 Subiras Ganguly (19)	—	do	do
62 Utpal Debnath	—	25-2-71	Killed in police custody. Jalpaiguri police station.
63 Pulak Bhaduri (Roy ?)	—	12-4-73	Shot dead by police near Naihati police station.
64 Asish Shome	—	6-5-74	Killed in police custody. Chitpore police station
65 Manik Chakrabarty	Worker, Bengal Potteries	24-11-71	Abducted & later found dead. No police action after abduction.
66 Nani Debnath	Trade unionist, Howrah Dec,	Dec. 1971	Killed by police or hired hoodlums.
67 Taran Mali	do	do	do
68 Ramjiban Santra	Trade unionist, Keshoram Rayons	do	do
69 Amal Thakur	Trade unionist, Dunlop	do	do
70 Barun Ghosh	Trade unionist, Braithwaite	do	do
71 Abani Bhattacharya	Trade unionist, Keshoram Span Pipes,	do	do
72 Narayan Roy	Trade unionist, Hindustan Motors	Dec. 71	Killed by police or hired hoodlums
73 Hiralal Datta	Trade Unionist, Dalhousie Jute Mills	do	do
74 Mahadeb Datta	Trade unionist State Transport	do	do
75 Bijon Saha	Trade unionist, Orient Fans	do	do
76 Dhana Hembrom	Sharecropper, Itai, Debra, Midnapore	Oct. 69	Beaten to death by police
77 Sashi Barui	Agricultural labourer,		
78 Prabir Datta (18)	Student	20-7-74	Beaten to death by police during attack on open-air theatre per-

WEST BENGAL

			formance in Curzon Park, Calcutta.
79 Dr. Narayan Bhandari (56)	Doctor, Ikshudhara		—
80 Prabhat Chakravarty (23)	Student, Mahadebpur, Birbhum.	May, 71 onwards	Short dead by police in Maha- deb pur Be-
81 Amar Ghosh (23)	Peasant, Paneshsuya, Birbhum	do	aten to death by police in Gajidangal
82 Shakti Bagdi (25)	Drummer, Panchsuya	do	Arrested and shot dead ins- ide police van.
83 Saroj Ain (24)	Student, Bolpur College	do do	short dead by police Bandh- gora.
84 Manasa Mal (25)	Petty trader, Hattala, Birbhum	do	Body lacera- ted in Bolpur police stn. died later in Suri-Jail
85 Buddhadev Bagdi (22)	Agricultural labourer, Bhubandanga, Birbhum	do	Shot dead by police in Bhu- bandanga
86 Chandan Sarkar (24)	Shop assistant, Surul, Birbhum	do	Short dead by police in rela- tive's house in Bhubandanga
87 Nirmal Das (24)	Student, Sural	do	Shot dead by police in open field after ar- rest in Sural.
88 Bikash (16)	Student, Bandhgora, Birbhum	do	Beaten to dea- th by police and "defence party" in Su- rul.
89 Nirmal Nandal (25)	Sharecropper, Ban- dhgora	do	do
90 Indramani Singh (16)	Agricultural labourer, Panchsuya, Birbhum	do	Shot dead by police in Pan- chsuya
91 Ganga Bauri (22)	Agricultural labourer, Surrul	do	Shot dead by police in Sural
92 Amimesh Mahato (24)	Student, Ilambazar, Birbhum	do	Beaten to dea- th by police



DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

93 Raghunath Sengupta (24)	Graduate, Suri College	May, June 1971	and "defence party" in Surul Shot dead by police after arrest in Suri do
94 Gopal Majhi (30)	Agricultural labourer, Suri	do	do
95 Pradip Ruj (22)	Student, Suri	do	do
96 Dilip (22)	Student, Suri	do	do
97 Sidhartha Mitra (23)	Student, Hetampur, Birbhum	do	Arrested and shot in middle of field in Khairasol
98 Dilip Chakrabarty (25)	Student, Tantipara, Birbhum	do	Shot dead after arrest in Ranjnagar
99 Ashok Senapati (21)	Student, Suri	do	Shot dead after arrest in Suri, severed head was hoisted in police station to spread terror
100-105 Six agricultural labourers	Tantipara	do	Six lined up in middle of field and shot dead by police
106 Paritosh Mukerjee (Fatik) (32)	Clerk, Railways	3-11-70	Shot dead by police on S.P. Mookerjee Rd.
107 Ajit Kar	Baranagar	12-8-71	Killed near Barangar P.O.
108 Alo (25)	Student	4-11-70	Shot dead by police inside Chakraberia hawkers corner.
109 Tapa (22)	Student	25-2-71	Arrested in Puri, taken home to Maharpur and shot dead
110 Bhanu (20)	Student	do	do

WEST BENGAL

111 Ashu Majumdar (20)	Student	11-3-71	Wounded during combing operation in Jadavpur. Taken in police custody and bayoneted.
112 Nitai Das (18)	Student, Dhakuria	Nov. 1971	Shot dead by CRP inside shop
113 Bifu	Student, Haltu	1971	Shot dead by police
114 Anil Chakrabarty	General Secretary, Britannia Biscuits Workers Union	27-9-71	Arrested in Burdwan, brought to Presidency Jail, and then to Bohala police station where shot dead
115 Nani Aich	Chanditala, Tollygunge	1971	Shot dead by police
116 Ranjit Das	do	do	do
117 Pradip Roychoudhury	do	do	do
118 Tapan Chakrabarty	do	do	do
119 Subal Karmakar	do	do	do
120 Ajit (Barda)	Student, Jadavpur	do	do
121 Bishwanath Mondal (22)	Manual labourer	Jan. 71	Shot dead in front of house in Sris Chouury Lane.
122 Nimai (23)	Shop assistant	do	do
123 Milon (25)	Student	1971	Shot dead by police in Raja bazar
124 Ahmad (40)	Peasant, Cuskara, Burdwan	Oct. 71	Arrested in Pichkurirdal, and killed by placing bamboo pole across throat and pressing down

DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

125 Nopal Mandal	Nothor bagan Lane	31-3-71	Shot dead by police in Ahiritola Street.
126 Subhas Sen	—	do	do
127 Samir Chandra	Engineering student, Jadhavpur University	Apr. 71	Arrested dead shot dead in Jadavpur
128 Sister Santra	Beadon Street	May 71	Chopped and by police on Beadon Street
129 Biswanath Nag	—	19-9-71	Arrested in Bhabanipur and shot dead
130 Bidyut Ghosh (19)	Bagoazar, student, St. Xavier's College	21-9-71	Arrested near Rabindra Sarobar and shot dead
131 Ashok Datta	Taltala	17-11-70	Arrested and shot dead in Taltala
132 Tapan	—	Dec. 70	Shot dead by police in Beliaghata.
133 Sapu	—	Dec. 70	do
134 Ashok Datta	Student, Jadavpur University	Dec. 70	do
135 Murari Kushari	Subhas Sarkar Road	Dec. 70	Arrested and shot dead in Beliaghata.
136 Rabi	do	Dec. 70	do
137 Partha	Abinash Banerjee Lane	15-2-71	Shot dead by police in Beliaghata.
138 Kanu	do	do	do
139 Mrinal Bharracharya	Chetla	9-7-71	Shot dead in front of Alipore Central Jail.
140 Sukumar Bhattacharya	Akhil Mistry Lane	Nov. 70	Shot dead by police in neighbour's house
141 Subhas Roychoudhury	do	14-11-70	Arrested and shot dead.
142 Sekhar Guha	do	1970	Shot dead on



WEST BENGAL

				Akhil Mishra Lane
143 Ranju Debnath	Chanditala, Tollygunge	Nov. 71		Bayoneted to death by police in Chanditala.
144 Ranjit Das	Chanditala	12 7-71		do
145 Subhas Karmakar	Tollygunge	10-7-71		Killed in Tollygunge police station lock up.
146 Gour Das	Chanditala	Nov. 71		Arrested and killed.
147 Satya Kar	Thakurpukur	Jan. 72		Shot dead by police in Chorbagan, Behala
148 Khokan Bhattacharya	Behala	Jan. 72		do
149 Devlal Chatterjee	Behala	Jan. 72		Shot dead by police in Behala
150 Ratan Das	Tollygunge	March 71		Shot dead by police in Tol- Tollygunge.
151 Shyam	Kalicharan Ghosh Road, Sinthee	July 71		Shot dead in broad day- light in Sini- thee.
152 Shyamal Chaudhuri	Sinthee	Aug. 71		Arrested at crossing of College Str. and Harrison Road and shot dead.
153 Gagan Roy	Sinthee	Oct. 71		Arrested and shot dead in Sinthee
154 Sushil Das	Ultadanga	July 71		Shot dead by police in Ultadanga.
155 Sibapada Roy	do	do		do
156 Badal Das	Worker, Jadavpur	19-7-71		Shot dead by CRP.
157 Shyamapada Saha	Jadavpur	do		do
158 Sujon Chakrabarty	Beliaghata	2-8-71		Shot dead by police

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

159	Tapan Goswami	Maheshtala	3-8-71	Shot dead by CRP.
160	Dinesh Dey	do	4-8-71	do
161	Kasem Ali	Peasant, Kaliachak, Malda	9-8-71	do
162	Subodh Biswas	Ashoknagar	11-8-71	do
163	Balai Saha	Beliaghata	27-8-71	do
164	Sashibhusan Mridha (25)	Peasant	July 70	Killed Keshpur Police Station Midnapore.
165	Gurudas Murmu (25)	Agricultural Labourer, Debra	1970	Shot dead by police
166	Rabin Chakrabarty (18)	Student	3-2-71	Beaten to death in Central Jail
167	Chapal Das Adhikari (20)	Student	3-2-71	do

## ANDHRA PRADESH

The Naxalbari uprising had, probably, its deepest impact in Andhra Pradesh. Specifically, the Telengana and Srikakulam areas saw extensive agrarian movements. This was met by tremendous police repression leading to the death of a large number of political activists.

The Srikakulam belt was, specifically, the centre of a vast tribal movement. And it was here that the maximum number of people were killed. The Savara tribes that inhabit the area live mostly on the hills and exist mostly on forest produce like fruits, tubers, leaves etc. The little cultivation that is done is by cutting forests. A little food is available for nine months of the year, while for the last 3 months there is hardly any food. The tribals are so backward that the men wear only a loin cloth while the women have only a strip of cloth around their waist.

Long ago traders settled at the foot of these hills and contact with the tribals developed. They sold them tobacco, pots, salt, chilli etc. These traders soon began giving loans to the tribals at exorbitant interest rates....they charged them on every rupee, 25p per day. It is these traders who are now the big landlords and moneylenders in the area. This has resulted in a large section of the population having become bonded labourers. Besides this, the Government's prevention of deforestation laws, has helped convert the forest guards into local tyrants. Officers also extract the maximum from the tribals to allow them to cut wood for their livelihood.

It is under such conditions that two school teachers of the locality began working amongst the tribals in the early sixties. Vempatapu Satyanarayana and Adibhatla Kailasam soon became legendary figures amongst the tribals. They began organising the tribals against the landlords and moneylenders but while doing so the government implicated them in numerous cases. Because of these cases, by 1967 they were forced to leave their jobs and go underground. The movement spread to over 350 villages; loans were cancelled and land confiscated by the landlords were taken back by the tribals. Soon, some brilliant intellectuals from the cities joined these two, to help develop the movement. All are now victims of police “encounters”.

It was then that the government unleashed its repressive machinery in the area. Twelve thousand CRP encircled the area and 250 villages were burnt to the ground, while animals and equipment of the tribals were looted and their crops destroyed. By 1968, the landlords who had left the area returned with the help of the police. The entire population of these villages were forced to flee to the hills. Anyone caught, was shot. Individuals caught at railway stations were taken to nearby forests and shot; people were pulled out of their huts and shot; some entire families were wiped out. By 1970, camps were set up in the plains and the tribals were caught in the forests and put into these camps and not allowed to move out.

The following is an incomplete list, published by the Organisation for the Protection of Democratic Rights (OPDR), with a few additions, of people killed in “Encounters”, not only in Srikakulam but also in other parts of Andhra Pradesh which witnessed incipient agrarian movements.

ANDHRA PRADESH

Sl. No.	Name	Place of occurrence	Date of occurrence	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
	Sarvasri			
1	Vempatapu Satyanarayana	Bori Hills Srikakulam	10-7-70	Caught and killed within hours.
2	Adibhatla Kailasam	do	do	
3	Medavarapu Venkataramana Murty	Jogipuram Hills, Parvatipuram	13-6-70	
4	Arika Somulu	—	4-9-73	Beaten to death
5	Urlam Mallessar Rao	Ramarikonda Sompeta Tq.	30-7-70	
6	Juthu Umapathi	Pondi R.S.	12-6-70	Tortured to death.
7	Pothanapalli Apparao	Ramagiri Hills	30-8-71	do
8	Raja Dushyant	Gurandi	3-2-72	do
9	Putchu Appalaswamy	Makannapalli	21-10-70	do
10	Narasaiah Amantho	—	—	do
11	Mandala Sangamesu	Jonaga Hills	25-6-70	do
12	Pondala Balakrishna	Gothivada Hills	9-9-71	do
13	Veeranki Rajagopala Rao	Rampochodavaram forest	16-6-70	do
14	Ravuri Syam	Boddavada (Budavada) Krishna Dt.	9-8-70	do
15	Bikkina Ramul	Botukulapai Vagu, Ongole Dt.	11-9-70	do
16	P. Subba Reddy	do	do	do
17	Devineni Mallikarjunudu (Doctor)	Ramarai Hills Srikakulam	30-7-70	do
18	Kollipara Ramanasimha Rao	Mulugu	11-5-72	do
19	Pidugu Veeraswamy (aged 12 years)	Khammam	1971	Tortured and shot dead.
20	Reddi Chinnama Naidu	—	4-8-71	do
21	Panchadi Krishnamurty	Jalantra Hills Sompeta R.S.	29-5-69	do
22	Tamada Chinababu (aged 11 years)	do	do	do
23	Neyyalla Narasimhulu	do	do	do
24	Boinapalli Paparao	do	do	do
25	Dunna Gopala Rao	do	do	do

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

26	Gummadi Latchiah		1970	Burnt alive in Police Station
27	Dr. Chaganti Bhaskar Rao (M.S. Gold Medalist)	Mathiapet, Srikakulam	Nov. 69	do
28	Tamada Ganapathi	do	do	do
29	Subbarao Panigrahi (Poet & Artist)	Rangamatia Hills, Srikakulam	Dec. 69	do
30	Ramesh Chandra Sahu	do	do	do
31	Smt. Panchadi Nirmala w/o Panchadi Krishna-Murthy	do	do	Heinously tortured and killed
32	Mrs. Gorakala Ankamma	do	do	do
33	Telukala Saraswati	do	do	do
34	Tabelu Naidu (50 Yrs.)	Tulsiguda, Srikakulam	Mr. Naidu & his five sons including 16 yrs. old boy were caught while sleeping in their house. All of them were shot dead at the same time.	
35	Gedala Lokanadham		Nov. 69	Tortured and shot dead.
36	Rajaram Reddy Alias Krishna Reddy	Dunabai Hills Srikakulam	9-2-73	do
37	Dasari Venkataramana	Perukonda (Agency)	10-6-70	do
38	P. L. Narsiah	Warangal	Apprehended on 23-10-72 & shot dead subsequently.	
39	Beeraboyina Muthaiah	do	do	
40	Gopallu	do	do	
41	Lakshmaiah (20 yrs.)	do		do
42	Veeraswamy (12 yrs.)	do		do
43	Sammaiah	Mulugu	—	Tortured and shot dead.
43	Pyla Bheemudu	Mondenkalu Srikakulam	26-5-69	Tortured & shot dead
45	Kurangi Malliah	Gaddedapai, Srikakulam	11-1-70	do
46	Pattika Chunhulu	Neelakantapuram Sreekakulam	11-12-79	do
47	Savara Jammadu	Boddanabudugu Sreekakulam		do
48	Vavilapalli Satyanarayana r/o Puttarapalli	—		do



ANDHRA PRADESH

49	Madanala Dushyantudu	Boddapadu	—	do
50	Gara Madhavarao	Boddapadu	—	do
51	Korongi Sundari	Gadidapai	—	do
52	Addakula Chiranjeevulu	Anthikonda	—	do
53	Kondagori Sangamesu	Anthikonda	—	do
54	Biddika Abbayi	Sakhi, Srikakulam	11-1-70	do
55	Suvara Sukku	Anthikonda	5-8-69	do
56	Pandi Jagannayakulu	Narayanapuram	20-8-69	do
		Srikakulam		
57	Jagathi Byri	Jinkubadra	20-8-69	do
		Srikakulam		
58	Nimmaka Venkataswamy	Antikonda	5-8-69	do
59	Nimmaka Surayya	Anthikonda	—	do
60	Nimmaka Nayakanna	Anthikonda		do
61	Kondagiri Chungaiah	Kondasiripi	5-8-69	do
62	Nimmaka Sukkulu	Uridi	24-3-69	do
63	Nimmaka Gudayi	Uridi	24-8-69	do
64	Bidika Jammddu	Tulasi	7-10-69	do
65	Nadhala Jogulu	Kondavada	9-10-69	do
66	Kondagorri Krishnudu	Kondavada	9-10-69	do
67	Mandangi Neelankantham	Kondavada	9-10-69	do
68	Arika Tatiadu	Eedamanuguda	15-11-69	do
69	Arika Mangadu	Swadiguda	11-12-69	do
70	Kondagorri Erikanna	Boddamanugada	11-12-60	do
71	Sallumagadu	Gadidaphyne	6-1-70	do
72	Kandrapu Pandurangadu		30-3-69	do
73	Poranki janakiramaraju	Kapilesvara	12-6-70	do
		Puram (Krishna Dt.)		
74	Biddika Addayi	Chinkala Koridi	13-7-69	Tortured & shot dead.
75	Sollu	Aviri	—	do
76	Kondagiri Bangaiah	Kondasiripi	5-8-69	do
77	Savara Ramu (17 yrs.)	Mahendragiri	30-6-71	do
78	Rohidas Gumango	do	do	do
79	Dhanunjaya Rao (18 yrs.)	Peddasna	9-7-69	do
80	J. Chinna Rao (19 yrs.)	Mamidipalli	9-7-69	do
81	Kancharapu Krishnamurty	Medamarri	27-5-69	do
82	Ramachandra Pradhano	Sallela puttuka	27-5-69	do
83	Suru	—	11-1-70	do
84	Savara Sanyasi	Anthikonda	5-8-69	do
85	Ranganna	Warangal	Sept. 72	do
86	Manikyam	Kothagudem	June 72	do
87	Krishna	Warangal	Sept. 72	do
88	Lakshmanna	Kotinagaram		
		Warangal Dt.	Sept. 72	do

DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

89 Papanna	Madigudem, Warangal	do	do
90 Ramesh	Nalgonda	Dec. 73	do
91 Veeranna	Ittikalapalli Warangal Dt.	Dec. 73	do
92 Ekanna	Ramapnram, Warangal	Aprl. 73	do
93 Seshanna	Kommugudem Khammam	Aug. 71	do
94 Pedalinganna (60 yrs.)	Mamidigudem Khammam	Mar. 73	do
95 Venkanna	Kommugudem	1972	do
96 Venkanna	Timmapuram	May 1969	do
97 Bhaskar	Pagider	Dec. 70	do
98 Chalamanna	Venkatapuram, Khammam	Nov. 73	do
99 Manikyam	Kommugudem	Sept. 71	do
100 Eeria	Biyyamtanda, Khammam Dt.	1972	do
101 Janardhan	Warangal	June 72	do
102 Gowranna	Warangal	Aug. 73	do
103 Venkatramanna	Gummadi Doddi, Khammam Dt.	1972	do
104 Seetanna	Chityala, Wgl.	1972	Tortured, skot dead.
105 Murali (17 yrs.)	Matlagudem Wgl.	1972	do
106 Kamala	Sarvai, Wgl. Dt.	1972	do
107 Suguna	Warangal Dt.	1972	do
108 Damodar	Nalgonda	1972	do
109 Shankar	—	Apr. 1972	do
110 Chakrapani	Warangal Dt.	June 72	do
111 Jagganna	Warangal Dt.	June 72	do
112 Reddy Appalaswamy	Narayanapuram Srikakulam	17-3-69	do
113 Gorantla Koteswarrao	Rajolu, Guntur Dt.	—	do
114 Chelluri Umapathy (19 years)	Rajam	22-12-69	do
115 Korisipati Balreddy	Gudaluru	24-7-70	Tortured, shot dead.
116 Maripini Vallabharao	Marripadu	28-11-69	do
117 Dunna Appalaswamy	Boddapadu Srikakulam	30-7-70	do
118 Arika Ramjiyam	Gangannadora Valasa, Srikakulam.	13-2-69	do



ANDHRA PRADESH

119 B. C. Rayappa	Chandana Anantapur Dt.	—	do
120 Niranjana Rao (14 yrs.)	Barampudm	27-5-69	do
121 Srungavapu Narsimhulu	Lakkavaram	27-5-69	do
122 Gorikala Sanyasirao (19 yrs.)	Nilavathi Srikakulam Dt.	22-11-69	do
123 Bathula Venkateswar Rao, Advocate.	Gondigudem Khammam Dt.	16-5-69	do
124 Datla Venkatramaraju	Mulugu	27-7-73	do
125 Jagadish	Manukota	—	do
126 Kokkilagadda Surya- marayana	Gondigudem Khammam Dt.	1969	do
127 Prakash (Anand) (19 yrs.)	Warangal	—	do
128 Pedagopanna (73 yrs.)	Khammam	—	do
129 Komaru	Palakonda	—	do
130 Nukanna	Junchiripedaguda Srikakulam	—	do
131 Neelam Ramachandriah former MLC	Caught in Vijayawada on Nov. 4-75, Taken to yellendu forest and shot dead.		
132 Jampala Prasad, B.E. Final	do		
133 P. Ramanarasaiah	Caught in Hyderabad on 31-10-76 and shot dead at Pakala Lake on 5-11-76.		
134 Jayaram	—	1976	—
135 Mandongi Rangayya	Dakapadu (Palakonda)	11-1-1970	Caught and killed at Vengalapuram Hills.
136 Arika Yerikayya	Boddumunu guda (Palakonda)	11-12-69	Chaparai- guda Hills
137 Arika Jayamma	do	do	do
138 Arika Bhoganna	do	do	do
139 Biddika Linganna	Tulasiguda	4-8-69	Patnam Agency Tulasi Hills, caught and killed by police.
140 Biddika Sarichanga	do	do	do
141 Biddika Baddadu	do	do	do
142 Biddika Bunnai	do	do	do
143 Muutika Appalaswmy	Nadimisingi (Parvatipuram Tq)	5-8-69	A. M. Kondasiripi Hills.
144 ArikaLachanna	(Parvatipuram Tq)	do	do
145 Arika Bapanna	Sivadaguda (Parvatipuram Tq)	do	do
146 BiddikaYerikayya	Taiguda (PVP Tq)	do	do
147 Yuvaka Gunjarayya	Kondachilakam (Parvatipuram Tq)	do	do
148 S. Perasayya	do	do	do

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

149 Biddika Geedarayya	Pedakharja	3/4-3-68	First encounter by police.
150 Biddika Korrenna	do		do
151 Toyak Sitaramulu	Mondavada	Caught and killed (PVP Tq)	do
152 Arika Kushtayya	do	do	do
153 Tedangi Adinarayana	Vegulavada (PVP Tq)	—	do
154 Ramamurty	do	—	do
155 Palaka Goyudu	Keedavai (PVP Tq)		do
156 Biddka Sukku	do	—	do
157 Puvvula Gundu	Marripilli	..	do
158 Perayya	do	—	do
159 BiddikaYerakayy	Dokulaguda	—	do
160 Goyudu	do	—	do
161 Arika Gaya	Debbidi	—On 11-12-69, 10 AM	Charapani Hills
162 Biddika Chandramma	Kakili	—18-10-69	Killed at Nakili Hills.
163 Biddika Mangadu	Ganganadora (PVP Tq) Valasa	9-2-69	Caught and Killed at Ganganadora Valasa Hills.
164 Biddika Ranga		do	do
165 Pattika Addai	Chintala Koridi	13-7-69	Caught & killed at Chintalakoridi Hills.
166 Biddika Pudai	Jalagaddaguda	—	do
167 Biddika Landa	Mulagamanuguda	do	do
168 Savara Manganna	Mantikonda	—	do
169 Savara Selja		—	do
170 Eiddika Sannai	Vundiguda	—	do
171 Biddika Yudru		—	do
172 Biddika Salaka	Parandoluguda	—	do
173 Arika Kedrayya	Oppangi	—	do
174 Mandangi Machayya	Baklaru Vill.	—	do
175 Smt. Mandangi Sayamma		—	do
176 Addakula Dubbalayya			do
177 Savara Bennadu	Niradivalsiguda	—	do
178 Savara Sukku	Tummaguda	—	do
179 Arika Apparao	Neelakantapuram	27-3-30	Caught & killed at Chilakam Hills.
180 Pattika Chunchul		—11-12-69	Along with him 5 others were killed at Chaparaiguda.
181 Kondagorri Sannai	Vagukonda		—Caught & killed.
182 Biddika Abbai	Saki	—11-1-70	Caught & killed at Vengalapu-ram hills with K. Malayya.
183 Biddika Abbai	Jammuvalasa		Caught & killed

ANDHRA PRADESH

184 Mollaka Ganganna	Pallapusirisi	.. do
185 Arika Tattayya	Bothili	— do
186 Kadraka Purna	Kakitada	5-6-69 Caught & killed at Joridiguda near Kakitada at 5.30 A.M.
187 Nimmala Haddi		do do
188 Biddig Chandrayya	Pallikaguda	—Caught and killed.
189 —	Nestachalamguda	27-5-69 Three unidentified persons were killed at Kakitada Hills.
190 —		1-7-69 2 girijans were killed & their names were not declared - at Donandakonda Hill near G. Sivada.
192 —	G. Sivada	2-10-69 35 years medium complexion unknown killed at Cundam Hills.
193 —		18-1-69 Caught & killed.
194		26-8-69 Caught & killed at 5 A.M.
195	Podi—Hills	Oct. 69 killed in Police Lockup at Bobbili P.S.
196	Avarai Hills	—Caught & killed
197 Vavilipalli Satyanarayana	Uttaravalli (Bobbili Tq)	—Arrested at Pathapatnam and killed.
198 Brahma Reddi	Vijayawada	27-7-71 Were arrested and killed at Mahendragiri Hills.
199 Gummadi Lachayya	Kamarti, Nar-sannapet)	— Caught & killed
200 Gumango	Euddapadu	
201 Sanyrla	(Sompeta)	
202 Bira Appalanarasu	Gansara	
203 Pandita Jagannakulu	Pata (Patnam Tq)	
	Narayanapuram (Sompeta Tq.)	20-8-69 Arrested while taking food. Later killed in the Mango topu of Narayanapuram.
204 Ravuri Ramana	Vijayawada	12-6-70 Caught and killed at Manganipudi Survadi topu & reported unidentified.
205 Bojja Narasayya (Koya)	Matuletummapyram WGL Dist	16-12-69 Killed at Mababorbai forest.
206 Ballela Jaggayya	Llaputtaga (Sompeta Tq)	21-3-69 Caught & Killed.

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

207 Gosira Bhimudu	Orissa	26-11-70 Caught & killed Mahad ragiri Hills.
208	Unidentified girijan killed near Balesu of PVP Agency Ajamey on 17-1-70.	
209 Pattisukku	Tadikonda	6-4-71 Caught and killed at Tadikonda Hills.
210 Devayya	Warangal	23-12-73 Caught and killed.
211 Gundala Komaranna	„	„
212 Unidentified person	Kothagudem Tq, (WGL Dt.)	28-3-74 „
213 Smt. Padmakka	Khammam Dt.	30-11-74 do
214 Unidentified person	do	do
215 Bogide Aiyayya	Waranagal Dt.	25-11-74
216 Janayya	do	do
217 Three unidentified persons killed belong to Siddipet Tq. Medak District.		
218 on 10-1-75 at Rajampalli Hills.		
219		
220 Kotagiri Venkati	Mulugu Tq.	22-6-75 Killed in M.D Muperam hills.
221 P. Sankarayya	do	do do
222 Kotappa or Dharmanna	Cherukupalli Khammam Dt.	6-7-75 Achampeta P.S. Limits, caught and killed.
223 Srinivasulu	do	Arrested at Anantapur and killed at above place.
224 Janardhan Rao (Regional Engineering college,) (Warangal)		They were all to rtured in Mulugu Police station 20-7-75 to 24-7-75 and were finally shot dead at Giraipally forest on the intervening night of 24th and 25th July 1975
225 Sudhaker		
226 Murali Mohan Reddy		
227 Ananda Rao		
228 Dasari Kotayya	Unnipeta (Prakam Dt.)	8-9-75 Caught & killed at Kotappakonda.
229 Paritala Sriramulu	Anantapur Dt.	29-5-75 Killed near Mysore border
230 Unidentified	do	do do
231 Unidentified	do	do do
232 Bujja Lakshmayya	Khammam Dt.	22-5-75 Caught & killed
233 Nagaraja Rao	Anantapur Dt.	5-11-75 Caught & killed near Chittore district.
234 Two unidentified persons shot dead in Khammam Dt. at Gudala village		
235		on 26-11-75.
236 Sri Hari		They a were arrested at
237 Janaki Rama Reddy Alias Jani Reddy		Hyderabad city on
238 Narayanarao (Kumar)		31-10-76 and reportedly



# ANDHRA PRADESH

239 P.C. Queriar (Viswanadam)		shot dead at Pakala Cheruvu in Warangal Dt. on 5-11-75. They were tortured and killed.
240 M. Venkatramayya (PCM)	Karimnagar do	They were arrested on 5-11-75 at Ramagundam and shot dead on 8-11-76.
241 Manganna (PCM)		These two were killed in Jillellamudi case on 8-3-76.
242 —		
243 —		
244 V.K. Rajan Raju alias Raghava	Visakha.	7-5-76 Caught and killed at Nadimikilla of Palakonda Tq. Srikakulam Dt.
245 Four persons in the village of		
246 Tatta of Prakasam Dt. among them two		
247 were locals and two are political		
248 workers. All were caught and shot dead in May 1976.		
249 Lalithakka	Yellandu Tq.	22-5-76 Caught and shot dead at Tekurugutta.
250 Sitakka	do	do do
251 Ranganna	do	25-5-75 Caught & shot dead at Mangannapetta.
252 Veeranna		10-6-76 Caught and killed.
253 Banjaru	Kudibanda (Khammam Dt.)	
254 Unidentified	Arrested at Guntur	19-1-76 Killed at Nalgonda.
255 persons		
256 Satyam	Ongole Dt.	3-1-77 Caught and shot dead in Chepalakunta forests.
257 Another person		
258 Chinta Muntayya	Nalgonda Dt.	Shot dead in Khammam Dt. forests.
259 Yellareddy	Moranbi	1969 Caught and shot dead. Member of the dalam in Telangana area.
260 Anand	WGL Dt.	1971 Caught and shot dead.
261 Manikyam	Kothagudem (WGL Dt.)	Sep. 72 do
262 Bhaskar	Allagedda (Kurnnool Dt.)	Sep. 72 do
263 Buchanna	Yenchatapalli (WGL Dt.)	do do
264 Pedalinganna	Mamidigudem Khamamm Dt.	Mar. 73

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

265	Nandu	Kurnool Dt.		
266	Mangi Reddy Narayana Reddy Chittore			Shot dead in Chittor sub jail in police firing 22-12-69.
267	Dunna Ankamma			
268	Degela Sammiah	Mulugu area		Shot-dead during internal Emergenzy.
269	Jaganmohan Reddy			
270	Snehalata Reddy	Caught at Padamupparam village in Warangal Dist.		
271	Kotagiri Venktaiah	in June 75 and subsequently shot dead.		
272				
273	A report in Telgu daily 'Andhra Prabha' (19-5-77) says that three naxa-			
274	lites were shot dead.			
275	Two Naxalites	Gurrakunta Village	Sept.	Shot.
276		Nalgonda Dist.	18, 1980	
277	Venkatarama Sharma	Manchinilabhavi	Oct. 6,	Shot by SRP
		Nalgonda, Dist.	1980	
278	Jangaiah	do	do	do
279	Venkata Reddy	do	do	do
280	Two Students	Suryapet	Oct. 15,	Arrested at
281		Nalgonda, Dist.	1980	Tea Shop
				Tortured to death.

## BHOJPUR, BIHAR

(Taken from 'Bhojpur: Naxalism in the plains of Bihar' by Kalyan Mukherjee and Rajendra Singh).

From the 1930s the lower castes, the Ahirs, Kurmis and Koeris were seeking a unity to fight upper-caste tyranny. In 1934, the Triveni Sangh was formed with the aims of: (i) fostering solidarity among different castes (ii) participation in democratic politics and (iii) opposing and retaliating upper-caste tyranny like corvee, begar, rape and social ostracism. It had built up a membership over one lac before it was finally absorbed in the Backward Classes Federation in 1948.

It was then that the Socialists who took up the struggle against the Rajput landlords. Specially notable was the struggle in 1954-56 when the villagers of Chaurahi refused to pay canal rent. The struggle continued till 1963, in which the officials, who came to confiscate the property of those who did not pay rent, were attacked. In the late fifties the communists too joined the struggle against canal rent leading to the arrest of over 300 of their members.

On 23rd February 1971, on the outskirts of Ekwari village, Sahar taluka, a landlord was found killed. Jagdish Mahto and Rameshwer Ahir, the leaders of the incipient Naxalite movement in the area, absconded. Jagdish Mahto, a college teacher in Ara, was finally killed in a skirmish at Behea Bazar, Behea, on 10th December 1972. With him Ramayan Chamar too died. But with this the movement spread under the leadership Rameshwar Ahir and

Ramnaresh Dusadh; and then begins the “encounter” era of Bhojpur. The facts are taken from the Book “Bhojpur: Naxalism in the plains of Bihar”, by Kalyan Mukherjee and Rajendra Singh Yadav.

## 4th May 1973

In Cauri village, in a grain looting incident the police fired 19 rounds killing four persons. Lalmohar Dusadh died on the spot; Ganeshi Dusadh on the way to hospital and Balkeswar Dusadh and Dinanath Teli at Ara hospital.

## December 1974

2 Harijans killed in fire near the village hospital in Sahar. Both died in hospital.

## January 1975

Rameshwar Ahir, wounded in the arm and suffering from stomach ailments was resting in Sukhram Chamar’s hut in Sonatola, Sahara. He was caught by the police and taken away in a jeep. His hands were in manacles and the rope bit into his stomach.

All at once as they approached the culvert near Dhamnia he ordered the jeep to stop....a scuffle broke out but he stepped down and ordered the officer to shot him. He kept saying, “I am not a criminal. Shoot me, but I won’t surrender. I won’t go to jail. I am not a dacoit. I fight for the oppressed. I defend the honour of women. One day this land will belong to those who till it.. Yes, I am Rameshwar, for whom you are searching.”

The Officer ordered him to get in. In anger Rameshwar swung out with his handcuffed hands. In turn, the Officer fired twice. Rameshwar slumped to the ground.

Amawas Dusadh began to flee when he saw the police approaching Sonatola. He was caught and interrogated at the police camp at Garhani. He remained silent. They shot him at eight in the evening.



## April 1975

On a tip-off the police surrounded Chapra village in Piro block on the night of 3rd April. The police kept urging the hiding Naxalites to surrender.

When they finally did, the SP who was in charge of the operation ordered them to position themselves on the roof of a hut with rifles in their hands. The police photographer clicked. All of a sudden they were cut down in a hail of bullets. Those killed included Algu Ram, his brother, Shivnarayan, Lalmohar and Rajinand (alias Vishwanath).

## May 1975

The police camped in the house of landlord, Rajnath Rai in Dullamchak village, Sahar and encircled the entire village. Pravesh Kahar who tried to flee was shot near Dhancchuan by Inspector Dube.

Sarvodaya leader Baburao Chandawar reported that “On the morning of 15 May Bacchan Ahir, a poor peasant of village Adwaran, went to Dr. Kamla Rai of Dullamchak. The doctor called him a Naxalite and before many eye-witnesses shot him dead. In the night the CRP men posted in the village dragged out a landless peasant, Gopal Chamar and killed him.”

## June/July 1975

On the evening of 28th June a large Contingent of the CRP and Jat regiment personnel surrounded the village Bahuara, Sahar. They were assisted by approximately 300 heavily armed Bhumihars from contiguous villages of Dhancchuan, Dullamchak and Chauri. 500 rounds of ammunition, 30 handgrenades were used in the 3 day seige of the village. The police having failed to flush out the Naxalites resorted to tear gas shells and finally set the huts of the Harijans on fire. Four men, who emerged from the smoke, were gunned down in a shower of bullets, while Dr. Nirmal and Narayan Kavi escaped.

Also, Biswanath Chamar, secretary of the CPI (ML) village committee

Ramanand Pasi, Sarju Teli and Butan Musahar were killed.

Butan Musahar, affectionately called 'Master', had escaped, injured from Bahuara and was caught in neighbouring village, Panwari. The police officer asked, "Who are you?". "I am Butan Musahar." Tearing his shirt open he pointed to his chest and cried, "If you want to know more fire here." A shot. Butan Musahar slumped to the ground. Butan became a legend to the Musahars of the area.

## June 1975

Samant Singh, a DSP, killed eleven out of fifteen arrested Naxalite suspects in Ghoranhuan village in Masaurhi PS of Patna district.

## November 1975

On 29th Nov., a section of police led by Waris Khan stopped at Babubandh, Sahar on a routine reconnaissance. They are looking for Sakaldip, an army deserter. Sakaldip is in the wheat fields; they approach his house. Women protest; the police force themselves in. Shots ring out in all directions. Three top Naxalites are killed. Dr. Nirmal and Mangal (alias Rajendra Yadav) die on the spot while Subroto (Jawahar) Dutt, secretary of the CPI (ML) escaped only to die of the wounds later. Sakaldip on hearing the shots, hit the constables, grabbed one of their rifles and fled.

## December 1975

On 31st December the police cordoned off the Harijan quarters and began making all inhabitants come out of their huts. When Ramdayal Chamar protested, he was shot dead. Two of his sons, who got panicky and began to run, were gunned down like rabbits. Then the police broke into his hut and finished off the rest: two women, Bhulkumari and Kalpatia and Jawahar Chamar. Jawahar was the nephew of Ramayan Chamar, who had been killed with Jagdish Mahto in 1972. On that occasion Jawahar had escaped.

## March 1976

On 31st March, Narayan Kavi, the legendary poet of Bhojpur was trapped by the police while walking from Gurpa towards Hanuman-Chapra, in Sahar. Hundreds of people thronged to see the corpse when it was brought to the SP's residence in Ara.

## October 1976

Jaggiwan Ram was arrested in Surni, Udwantnagar. He was beaten and tortured, nails driven into his fingers and sent to Bhagalpur Central Jail. Subsequently, he was killed while trying to escape from the jail with other suspects.

On 10th October 1976, the police surrounded the hut of Munilal Mahto in Ekwari village, on information that a squad of Naxalites were resting there. A continuous barrage of bullets was fired into the hut. A young girl, Comrade Sheila Chatterjee, was shot dead. In the morning all was silent in the hut. The SP, S.N. Lal Gupta approached the door. Munilal appeared at the door, behind his bullock. The SP was seen talking to Munilal. All at once, the SP turned on Munilal and fired. Once, twice. The people around watched the entire thing happen before their eyes. Later the SP released a statement to the press "Munilal Mahto attempted to attack me with a sword. I fired in self-defence.",

## PUNJAB

As the Naxalite movement developed in Punjab, about 100 revolutionaries were killed in so-called encounters with the police. A wave of terror was let loose by the Punjab Government. Money was announced for the heads of revolutionaries, and special police cells were created to hunt, torture and kill them, their family members and sympathizers. There were fierce police onslaughts on villages-Dadahoor (Sangrur Dist), Manguwal (Jullunder Dist.) and Kala Sanghain (Kapurthala Dist.). The entire population of the villages were indiscriminately beaten up, crops burnt and houses destroyed. Amongst others, a seventy year old Ghadarite Communist, Baba Boojha Singh, was shot dead by the police in an encounter’.

Another significant political murder, was the death of Prithipal Singh Randhawa, 27 year old General Secretary of the Punjab Students Union (PSU) on July 18, 1979. Made to look like a interunion rivalry between two student groups of the Punjab Agricultural University, his murder was the result of a well planned conspiracy, with the connivance of Akali leaders, police authorities and anti-social elements. Prithipal had played a lead-role in the movement against the killing of students in Moga in 1972, where various Marxist-Leninist mass organizations had gathered in a ten thousand strong demonstration against Jayaprakash Narayan’s Punjab visit. During the emergency, Prithipal had been detained under MISA. His death resulted in strong protest bandhs and demonstrations throughout Punjab.

PUNJAB

PERSONS MURDERED BY THE PUNJAB POLICE IN THE NAME OF  
NAXALITES: 1970-77

12. 1.A REPORT PREPARED BY AMARJIT CHANDAN, POET,  
JOURNALIST AND ACTIVIST OF THE AFDR (PUNJAB) AND  
PUBLISHED IN APRIL 1977 "JAFARNAME (NOW"JAIKARA")

A PUNJABI MONTHLY

DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

Sr. No.	Name & Age	Village/Distt.	Details
1.	Balwant Sing (30)	Khera/Patiala	Arrested from Badwali
2.	Ujagar Singh (32)	Badwali/Ropar	village on 25-3-1970,
3.	Darbara Singh (32)	Rashidpur/Ropar	Subjected to untold tortures, taken to near <b>KHERI SALBATPUR</b> (ROPAR) & shot dead.
4.	Daya Singh (35)	Kharar/Ropar	Secretary arrested on
5.	Paba Hari Singh (72) Margindpuri (old free- dom fighter)	Ugana/Patiala	25-3-70 from the house of Master Tarsem Bawa in Village Jhangian (Patiala), subjected to most inhuman tortures, shot dead in the night near village Ugani.
6.	Gulsara Singh (45)	Bhathal/Sangrur	Shot dead on 12-5-70 morning in Harigarh Village after encircling.
7.	Baba Bujha Singh (80)	Chak Ma/Jullundur Dass	Arrested from village Nagar near Phillaur, shot dead at 2 a.m. M. 28-7-1970 at Satara Bridge.
8.	Dalip Singh (45)	Kila Hakiman/ Sangrur	Arrested on 9-8-70 at 6 p.m. from village Khudi
9.	Babu Singh	„	Kalan. Bound behind jeep
10.	Niranjan Singh Akali (70)	„	and dragged, then shot dead at 2.00 p.m. near Pakho Kainchian.
11.	Arjan Singh (28)	Dera Baba Nanak Gurdaspur	Arrested from canal near Aarthewal on 16-8-1970,
12.	Trilochan Singh (21)	Babak/Hosiarpur	shot dead near temple of Jandwal near Hajipur.
13.	Ravinder Singh (19)	Jagatpur/Jullundur	Arrested on the night of 11-12 Sep. 1970, after brutal tortures shot dead on Nawan, Shahar-Kolan Road.
14.	Iqbal Singh (50)	Manguwal/Jullundur	Story of 'encounter' after shooting dead on 1-1-1971 near Khan-Khana Village.
15.	Raunaq Singh (50)	Charhi/Ludhiana	Ronar Police took reward from some Jullundur jail

16. Tehal Singh (20)	Lehra/Hoshiarpur	in Feb. (71), Murdered after brutal tortures. Arrested on 19-20 Feb. 1971 night from some village of Garshankar after brutal tortures, shot dead near Ninna bank.
17. Ajit Ram (26)	Garhshankar/Hoshiarpur	
18. Hari Singh (38)	Bhatiwal Kalan/Sangrur	Staged a drama of 'encounter' after shooting dead in the evening of 6-3-1979 near Thamman (Patiala) Bhatiwal Kalan/Sangrur
19. Ram Singh (40)	Bhatiwal Kalan/Sangrur	
20. Bant Singh (20)	Rajena/Faridkot	Arrested on 25-2-71 from a tea stall in front of college in Ferozpur city. After untold inhuman tortures shot dead on 7-3-1971 morning on canal bridge of Dharamkot.
21. Bakhshish Singh (24)	Morkarimann/Ludhiana	Arrested in the evening of 20-3-1971 from Nawan Shahar Railway Station. Died along with 4-5 Policemen by his own hand grenade.
22. Ram Murti (25)	Soara/Ropar	Arrested in the night of 25-3-71 from Punjab University, Chandigarh, murdered in the end of April with no trace of his body.
23. Ram Karam (28)	Godapur/Patiala	Murdered on 8th April 1971 near Ghanaur Town (Patiala).
24. Tarsem Bawa (30)	Doraha(Ludhiana)	Arrested on 25th May 1971, evening, from Ludhiana Bus stand amid his cries of being murdered. Shot dead same night near Jagerm Bridge.
25. Ujagar Singh (23)	Jhugian/Hosiarpur	Died in Hosiarpur jail in August 1970, because of Police tortures.
26. Harmit Singh (23)	Chintagarh/Ropar	Arrested & murdered in

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

27. Pritam Das (23)	Kakrala/Ludhiana	the end of April 1971 in Talwara near Gobindpur. Arrested from home in presence of people on 17-4-1971, murdered with no trace of dead body.
28. Shiv Lan (22)	Wangwali/Sangrur	Student of last year in G.N. Engineering College Ludhiana, no trace after arrest in March/April 71 from Distt. Hoshiarpur.
29. Jeet Singh (23)	Sikri/Hoshiarpur	Arrested after encircling near Mukerian (Hoshiarpur) on 23-5-1971. Shot dead afterwards.
30. Kashmir Singh (22)	Bajivmann/Amritsar	Arrested in the last days of June 1971 from Nangal Kalan village. Murdered after brutal tortures with no traces of dead bodies.
31. Bhola Singh (24)	Gurusar/Bhatinda	
32. Darshan Singh (20)	Sukhladhi/Bhatinda	Arrested on 14-7-71 from near Kusla village, subjected to hours-long blind brutal torture, afterwards shot dead near canal head.
33. Gurubanta Singh (23)	Raipur/Bhatinda	
34. Swaran Singh (24)	Boha/Bhatinda	Arrested in Sep. 1971. After brutal tortures, murdered.
35. Teja Singh (30)	Babanpur/Hissar	
36. Mehr Singh (22)	Mandavi/Sangrur	
37. Ranjit Singh (30)	Nangal Kalan/Bhatinda	School teacher handsome fellow living peacefully in-village after becoming passive from political activity, kidnapped from Jawaharke Bridge on 7 October 1971 & murdered with no trade of dead body.
38. Harnek Singh (40)	Sardulgarh/Bhatinda	Sarpanch of village, popular with people. Murdered by plaincloth policeman in 2nd week of October 1971.



39. Jaspal Singh (18)	Balad Kalan/ Sangrur	Shot dead on 28th August 1971 at Patiala by the son of D.S.P. Sikandar Singh.
40. Amarjit Singh (23)		Arrested on 25-9-71 at Village Karbalian from the house of Amarjit Singh. Shot dead in broad day light in presence of hundreds of people in the farms of Taragarh.
41. Rajinder Singh (23)	Hampura/Gurudaspur	
42. Nirmal Singh (25)	Daroli Khund	Arrested on 17-12-71 in Hosiarpur Dist. from the bridge of Nasrula, shot dead in the night near Bhikhowal village.
43. Surjit Singh (20)	Bagrian/Patiala	Arrested on 25-12-71 from Nadampur Village. Kept at Amloh Police station for many days and tortured, shot dead in the night at canal bridge of Tanda Badhan village.
44. Pawan Kumar (28)	Ralad Kalan/ Sangrur	Arrested from Ghagga village (Patiala) on 31-12-1971. Murdered, no traces of dead bodies.
45. Mohinder Singh	Ramgarh/Sangrur	do
46. Kachhatar Singh (20)	Raipur/Bhatinda	Arrested from the house of a professor in Bhatinda city in the beginning of 1972, subjected to merciless tortures. Murdered with no trace of dead body.
47. Piar Singh (32)	Dadahur	Arrested in January 1972 from a village in Sherpur Police Station. Shot dead near Barnala after untold brutal tortures.
48. Beant Singh (20)	Muma/Sangrur	
49. Sharif Mohd. (40)	Kanjhla/Sangrur	
50. Father of Harband Singh	Snaghera/Sangrur	Arrested from home in early 1972, tortured & murdered with no trace of dead body.

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

51. Gurdar Singh Dardi (24)	Khiali/Sangrur	Arrested in early 1972 murdered with no trace of dead body.
52. Artar Singh (21)	Faridpur/Sangrar	Arrested in early 1972 from village Chariauri Kalan, murdered with no trace of dead body.
53. Raj Kishore (20)	Mohl Kalan/Sangrur	Arrested in early 1972 from a Cinema house of Barnala. Murdered after brutal tortures with no trace of dead bodies.
54. Bala Singh	Bilaspur/Faridkot	do
55. Onkar Singh (25)	Kalua/Hoshiarpur	Arrested on 1-3-1971 near Hoshiarpur, and shot dead outside Modeltown in the night after brutal tortures, made a story of 'encounter'.
56. Cahhman Singh (22)	Raipur/Bhatinda	Arrested in June 1972 after encircling in front of hundreds of people from the fields of Chaoke village. Murdered near Manga later, with no traces of dead bodies.
57. Zaila Singh (22)	Burj/Bhatinda	do
58. Baldev Krishnan (23)	Gopalokotla/Ropar	Arrested in broad day light from Bassi Pathana in first week of Sep. 1972. Murdered after tortures with no trace of dead body.
59. Kartar Singh (45)	Kulwal/Hoshiarpur	Arrested from Sarhala Khurd on 10 June 1973 afternoon & shot dead.
60. Gurdial Singh (30)	Sarhala Khurd/Hoshiarpur	
61. Swaran Singh (25)	Hosipur Dhada/Jhullundhur	Arrested on 9th Sept. 1973 from an anti-Police demonstration at Kala Sanghian subjected to merciless, brutal tortures admitted to Hospital in grave condition and died there.
62. Tarsem Lal (26)	Tut Shera/Jullundur	

PUNJAB

63. Gurdip Singh (33)	Gondpur/Jullundhur	Murdered in Sept. 1973 at village Ohitt by Police.
64. Teja Singh (27)	Kala Sanghia/ Kapurthala	Arrested on 12 Dec. 73 at Mirpur Marian Village, tortured, died in Hospital.
65. Joginder Singh (27)	Kala Sanghia/ Kapurthala	Shot dead in broad day near Sura Nasi village Jullundhur on 22 May 1975.
66. Harbans Singh (26)	Sanghera/Sangrur	Arrested on 12 August, 75 from near Patiala, shot dead at Pakha square (Barnala)
67. Tarsemlal (27)	Sauli/Hoshiarpur	Arrested on 2 February 1976 from Village Badeseron on Garshankar Mahalpur Road, shot dead in in broad day light.
68. Bikramjit Singh (23)	Sadikpur/Jullundhur	Arrested on 25 March 1976 after following from Mehatpur Bus Stand. Afterwards shot dead in broad daylight and enacted in the drama of 'encounter'.
69. Gurdial Singh	Kalasanghian/ Kapurthala	
70. Gurcharan Singh (30)	Manuke/Faridkot	Arrested from home on 6th March 1977. Murdered on 7th March night in Bagha Parnana Police Station after two days of brutal torture, threw dead body in Canal.
71. Prem Singh (38)	Dolan Majra/ Rup Nagar	Arrested from home on 24 March 1970, murdered after brutal tortures, no trace of dead bodies.
72. Swaran Singh f/o Ujagar Singh	Badwali/Rup Nagar	do
73. Munshi Ram	Badwali/Rup Nagar	do
74. Joginder Singh (40)	Garhi/Ludhiana	Arrested from village in Oct. 1970, murdered with no trace of dead body.
75. Bhangra Singh	Nawan Pind/ Bhatinda	Arrested by Manga Police in 1971 during Governor's Rule, murdered brutally.

## DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

76. Ajaib Singh	Malkon/Bhatinda	
77. Gurdial Singh (40)	Chalaki/Rupnagar	Brother of underground worker Tara Singh. Arrested from home on 31st May 1972 murdered with no trace of dead body.
78. Daulat (19)	Manjwal/Hoshiarpur	Arrested from home in the night of 1st May 1971, murdered with no trace of dead body.
79. Harnek Singh	Bhalvan/Sangrur	Arrested from home on 25 Sept. 1971 murdered with no trace of dead body.
80. Veer Singh	Cheema/Sangrur	Worker in Ludhiana. Arrested from rented room in August 1970-no trace of dead body.
81. Bachittar Singh	Bugram/Sangrur	Arrested in 1971, subjected to brutal, untold tortures, died after two days at home.

### Notes

(1) from 1 to 30, from 71-74 murdered during Akali Govt. Rest during Congress or Governor rule,

(II) Dist. wise breakup : Patiala-4, Ropar-10, Sangrur-22, Jullundur-8, Gurdaspur-3, Hoshiarpur-10, Ludhiana-5, Faridkot-3, Amritsar-1, Bhatinda-11 Hissar (Haryana)-1, Kapurthala-3, total-81.

(III) Age group : in Twenties-42 in forties-10, in fifties-1, in seventies-2, in eighties-1, unknown-12.

(IV) Sikhs-68, Muslims-12, Hindus-12.

Published in April 1977, Government has not contradicted yet.

## TAMIL NADU

Tamilnadu has had a strong national and democratic tradition, specifically under the influence of social reformers like Periyar. Around 1966, a group of about 50 young people in Jolarpet, organised themselves for social and economic justice. Amongst these were Sivalingam, Seeralan, Chakravarthi and Chinnathambi. Later, by mid-seventies, disillusioned by their ineffectivity, they drifted to revolutionary politics and were involved in organising the workers and peasants of North Arcot and Dharappuri districts. Soon, their influence in the area grew, and it is then that the landlord-police combine launched a massive attack on the young revolutionaries.

# DEATH BY ENCOUNTER

Sr.	Name	Date	Place	Remarks
1	Appu	1969		Killed in police captivity
2	Seeralan Janil	1977	Natrampalli	Beaten to death
3	Shanmugam	Sept. 11, 1980	Tirupattur	Died in Hospital after torture
4	Subramaniam			
5	Balan	Sept. 12, 1980	Tirupattur	Tortured and killed.
6	Karunakaran	Sept. 18, 1980	Jolarpet	Shot dead
7	Chinnadoraj	Oct. 12, 1980	Tirupattur	Shot dead
8	Nandiperumal			
9	Chinnathoria	Oct. 12, 1980	Tirupattur	Died in Hospital after torture.
10	Peramal			
11	Jayapal	Oct. 14, 1980	Bairapalli forest North Arcot	Shot dead
12	Manoharan	Dec. 17, 1980	Pappankttai village Tirupattur	Shot dead
13	Kannamani	Dec. 28, 1980	Madakadappah village, North Arcot	Shot dead
<b>OTHER STATES</b>				
	Verghese	1969	Kerala	Tortured to death.
	Rajan & friend	1976	Kerala	do
	Gambhira	1977	Champaran, Bihar	do
	Ramadhar Patel	1978	Khaleka Purva	
	Ramadhar Yadav		village, Pratapgarh,	
	Ramsajivan		U.P.	Shot dead.

## About the Author

The Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights (CPDR) came into existence in April 1977, as part of the outburst against emergency rule. It is a Bombay based organisation, not affiliated to any political party. Its chief aims have been to create in citizens an awareness of their rights, investigate cases of infringement of rights and support the ongoing struggles of the people for justice and a better life. CPDR has investigated and taken up various cases, whether of ordinary people killed in police custody, students and teachers fighting authoritarian measures, workers, peasants and tribals struggling against exploitation, slum dwellers facing eviction or casteist tyranny.

CPDR has also tried to enhance the democratic consciousness of the citizens of Bombay through talks, slide shows, films, plays, public meetings, demonstrations and its builetin-Raksha.

Throughout, the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights has tried to protest against the arbitrary and undemocratic actions of those in power and safeguard the rights of our people. But faced with the enormity of the task, its efforts have been a small contribution to the movement. It is with the support and help of more, that such efforts can become more meaningful.

